

INFORMATION BULLETIN

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

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YEAR XX

TIRANA, 1968

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TOWARDS FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZING OUR SCHOOLS

— Excerpts from Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech delivered at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania on March 7, 1968.

Incidentally, the day on which the Political Bureau is taking up the school problem coincides with Teachers' Day, therefore, on this occasion, we turn our best thoughts to the men and women teachers of our country who are engaged in untiring work of carrying out a major patriotic task and, while expressing our gratitude, we wish them further success in educating our younger generation in a revolutionary way on party lines.

Our people say: «life itself is a school». In terms of our materialist philosophy this means that learning should always continue and proceed uninterruptedly parallel with and all along our lifetime; it means, at the same time, that mental work is indissolubly linked with manual work. This means that work, production and thought stand in a complementary relation to one another throughout man's life, matter being primary and thought secondary. Learning and thinking are the product and reflect the dialectic development of matter.

Hence the truism that learning, the progressive development of thought, is not a mere obligation but should be considered as a natural phenomenon which is related to and originates from the transformation of matter, from its dialectic development and transformation and, consequently, an objective necessity for men and society. At all times, at every stage of his life, man, as a natural material being, is undergoing changes just as everything that surrounds him. He creates, thinks, learns and again creates and transforms. All this should be considered as a continuous, uninterrupted

process from his cradle to his grave. This is a natural law. The schools we are now taking up are organized on the basis of this law of materialist development. Schools and learning should not be considered as finite, confined solely to a period of man's lifetime, or as an adequate basis, once and for all time perfect, encompassed within a cycle of given norms to facilitate the organizational work of educating and teaching.

This law brings up the question of mass instruction and education a thing which the Party has repeatedly held forth to us, namely, that all of us without exception should apply ourselves to learning, should acquire education all along our lives so that we may be able to create, so that thought may guide production and development. But in order that this development may proceed without a break along the road of our socialist revolution, it is necessary that our thought, education and schooling should base everything on our materialist philosophy.

We say, and it is a fact, that 8th grade schooling is compulsory by law, but we should say and have it clear that all schooling in its various forms, not merely in the cycle we have mapped out so far, should be compulsory for all not in the mere legal sense of the word, as our 8th grade school is, but in the true sense of our materialist philosophy.

The problem of school organization and attendance, that is, of uninterrupted education throughout a man's lifetime is a problem of major importance that cannot be solved and done away with within a short period of time and within the actual limits of school organization alone because, regardless of the progressive changes our school has undergone and continues to undergo, it carries along with it certain idealistic concepts inherited from the philosophy of the bourgeois school, concepts which have fettered with routine the minds of many of our people and teachers who drag along with them these conservative obstacles without themselves knowing it.

In our socialist regime, our new school, just as every thing else should follow its own laws of development which should conform to and serve our economic and social structure, since both the school and learning are important parts of the superstructure which should be guided by our Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy.

In our socialist order of things, schools and education

should be organized just as and parallel with our socialist work and large-scale production so that they may respond to the objective laws of socialism and communism, so that the experience in production should stimulate creative thought, so that the development of matter may clear up thought and the latter guide and help the development of revolutionary practice, the development and transformation of society.

But the process of starting and developing our school could not have been done prior to the liberation. After the liberation of the country and until we enacted our first school reform laws in 1946, we had to depend on the old school, on the old teachers and pedagogues. This inheritance has weighed heavily and continues to weigh heavily to this day (naturally, with many differences) and is manifested in the pronounced conservatism of many older but also younger teachers and pedagogues. Nevertheless, the school kept pace with the progressive transformation of everything in our country. Our school reform laws exerted a positive influence in this regard, the experience of the Soviet school helped us to some extent in this matter we say, to some extent, for later on and to this day the Soviet school grafted to our old school had preserved many features of the surviving bourgeois pedagogy, it had many shortcomings which time, the experience and development of our country brought to the fore and which obliged us to keep making partial corrections both in the structure and in the program and policy of our school.

In the matter of our school, it was hard for us to act differently from what we did because we lacked experience, we lacked the means and we lacked cadres. We could not and it would have been a mistake if we had made *tabula rasa* of the schools of the past. We had to proceed towards making it a people's school, to spread it far and wide in cities and in the countryside, to make elementary schooling compulsive, to set up the 7th grade school, to increase the number of secondary schools, to make 7th and 8th grade schooling obligatory, to increase the number of vocational schools and to send students to pursue their studies abroad until we would found our own university in the country. On the other hand, from the early days after liberation and onward, the concern of our Party and Government has always been to make our school, this cradle of knowledge, an important center of imbuing youth with the politics of the Party.

It is true that our teachers and pedagogues carried out the policy of the Party, some adapting themselves to it, but nevertheless, they still preserved in their innermost the method and style of their work, the trends and survivals of the old school they themselves had attended in the country or abroad.

Now matters are different. We possess a new, nearly 25-year-old experience on schools in which a constant positive process has been going on, in which a number of objectives set forth by the Party have been achieved. Taking their clue from them, we should take a qualitative leap forward in our schools, a thing imposed on us by the need of developing production, of completing the construction of socialism and of advancing towards communist society.

But in taking this qualitative leap as we should, it seems to me that we should define with greatest attention the principles and ways through which we must proceed without falling a victim to nihilist platforms, without inserting grafts which are not suitable and well founded.

As to our school, our Party has always pursued a pronounced tendentious policy. Wherever it has been possible, it has tried to steer the school and education along the Marxist-Leninist road, to link them with immediate and future needs of the all-round development of the country, of production and socialist construction. And the best proof of this lies in the persuasion of the rank and file that learning is necessary, in the opportunities that have been created for them to learn, especially now that education has become the concern of the masses, in the economic progress made, in the training of a large number of cadres who are busily engaged in work and management on party lines and in accordance with the teachings of the Party, always devoted and loyal to the people, to socialism.

Yet, if we delve deeper into this problem, we will come across a deficiency which lies in the fact that the school is more often considered as the domain of the teacher and pedagogue, in which everything should be subjected to its pedagogical aspect, to the method of instruction. In other words, in the tendency that in school matters the teacher and pedagogue are the only competent people to run the school once they have been given the lines and criteria to follow.

We have constantly reproached the Party comrades

with not having concerned themselves more seriously with schools. Even when obliged to visit schools, their interest in them was centered on whether students received passing marks, whether they stood in need of any material, whether the students occurred any absences, etc. Thus, they were concerned more or less with the formal aspect of the problem. They felt estranged from the school and the reason they gave for this estrangement was that they were busily engaged in other, mainly economic, work. Thus, our Party comrades came short of grasping the links of schools with production; and when we say this, we imply that these links are paramount and decisive.

On the other hand, the teachers and pedagogues were entirely detached from production; they felt the needs and profited from the changes that our economy was undergoing but in their schools and in their teaching they pursued in a stereotyped and bureaucratic way outdated pedagogical forms and methods and a style of work which were often anachronistic. And, what was still worse, they imagined and were even convinced that they were carrying out their task to the letter. Whereas the Party and its personnel who guided this major political, economic, ideological and organizational transformation were not adequately interested in schools, in the changes that should have been made now and then, in the dynamic process of their development.

During these last two years the Ministry of Education and Culture came under the strong pressure of all the revolutionary measures taken in our country, got moving and began patching up things. This corroborates what I just said that the problem of education and schools is not a bureaucratic one, nor can it be the domain of the teachers in general alone; it cannot be considered the realm of theory detached from production, from work, but it is the great concern of the Party, of the people, of economy, of the structure and superstructure.

Moreover, it is not enough to make 8th grade schooling compulsory or to assign students to various academic departments alone. No, the problem is not such a light one, it is deeper and more complicated than it looks, and it is precisely this that has placed the Ministry of Education and Culture before new problems which demand solution. It is precisely up to us to find the most correct Marxist-Leninist solution to these problems.

The problems are many and are not simple enough to be solved at one discussion or at a stroke of the pen. In order to solve them aright, we should guard against chaotic methods covered up under alleged forms of mass action, we must refrain from subjectivist views, we must keep our eyes open against trends and inclinations of sympathy towards external and internal schools of the past, sympathies which in the course of time and through routine have turned for certain people into dogmas which they think are «the best», without which, according to them, the schools cannot turn out to be good, if not altogether worthless. Therefore, every thing existing in our new schools should pass through the meticulous analysis of Marxism-Leninism, since our new socialist school should be permeated through and through and guided in everything by our materialist philosophy. This is the fundamental condition.

Our new school cannot be a school of any kind, it should respond to the needs of developing production, it should be practical and in compliance with the structure and superstructure of our socialist country. Our school, therefore, should present and embody our Marxist philosophy in all its cycles, in all forms of organization, methods and style, it should follow up and help the revolutionary development of structure and superstructure. Guided by the Party, it should become an integral part of the latter, to help production, to develop creative thought and promote progress.

It would be a mistake for our teachers and pedagogues and ourselves to think that in building our school everything has proceeded according to the criteria I just mentioned. Another mistake would be, if we thought lightly that, since we took the Soviet school for a pattern we have not erred. Among us errors have been committed not only because we had lacked experience but also because the Soviet school itself had made mistakes and had serious shortcomings, it had not reached perfection, it was in the process of development. Moreover, the stage of economic, educational and cultural development in our country (to which I will refer later) was different from that of the Soviet Union.

We should base the changes, improvements and corrections which we will make to our school on the actual state and achievements attained through a detailed Marxist-Leninist analysis of them. By a detailed analysis I do not mean a statistical analysis within the realm of education alone,

but this should be linked up with the actual concrete state of our country, with the development of production, economy and culture, with their needs, with whether these needs and insufficiencies are filled or not, knowing how many they are materially, the number of cadres and their quality. Thus, we will get acquainted with the actual stage of both our economic educational and cultural development, we will see where the shortcomings lie and we will make as correct an assessment of our needs as possible.

From this study we will see that socialist construction, further development of production, of economy and of culture stand in great need of trained people, our schools are not only to provide additional personnel for some planned organisms, but to turn out 'en masse', people equipped with graded knowledge and science, not all of them uniform. Learning and education in schools should not be considered as a means of speculation and personal profit, as they are considered by bourgeois philosophy, but as powerful weapon in the hands of the new men of socialist society, in order to build this society, to promote our common socialist production, to develop socialist culture to serve society.

If we assess aright this multilateral aspect of our needs both in quantity as well as in quality, if we view the fulfilment of these needs from the angle of the dynamism of dialectic materialist and historical development, we will come to the conclusion that we cannot and should not have one type of school but a whole range of schools including also several courses of only some month's duration.

It is a fact that the study of these major problems of education is taken up and conclusions are reached by the staff members of the Ministry of Education and Culture; but these problems transcend the boundaries of the staff of the Ministry of Education and Culture, even if the latter is made up of hundreds of competent teachers and pedagogues. The problem of education is a major problem of the Party, of the Government, of the People.

In order to cope with this huge task of education I think it is necessary to set up under the direct supervision of the Party Central Committee a broad and important commission made up of the best representatives of education, industry and mining, of agriculture (state farms and cooperatives), of youth, women, physicians, sportsmen, musicians, philosophers and others.

Why are all these people necessary? Because, while mapping out orientations, which I have just referred to, they will establish the actual links of schools with the economic and social development of the country. Each one of them will bring up his most urgent and future needs, and thence will come out the right proportions and priorities, the necessary time limits to fulfil these needs and the various types of schools needed. This is one aspect of the work to be done by this commission. The other and equally important aspect is that of subject matter, of the proportions each of them will have in every given school or course, so that every one graduating from a school or course of study may find the corresponding school or course to pursue for his or her further and continuous training. The way this work is now being done or is purporting to be done is not very correct, for, at times there is no objective orientation. This results in oversimplified and chaotic forms, in proceeding, for instance, along the road of adding or subtracting this much from one or the other of the subjects, and thus in creating the impression that in this way everything is allegedly settled aright. These operations, of course, are representative of and are performed with good intentions, in order to give the proper place in texts to the line of our Party, nevertheless, they cannot always be considered adequate and infallible.

Another problem to tackle is that of the «equivalence» of schooling. This is not rightly understood. I think that in this matter we should not tolerate inducements and trends which are alien to us, for «to get a degree, to become a man of authority, to receive a fat salary and to become a functionary» are petty bourgeois ways of thinking. This feeling which lies hidden under the so-called stimulus to study, is in fact a latent anti-socialist survival which we should clean out and replace with the feeling of genuine socialist eagerness to study.

From one stage to another, our school, like everything else, will undergo changes in form, structure and content. One thing alone will never change: its backbone — Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy — which will steer it in all directions and guide it in all its transformations.

Therefore, our Party should teach, first and foremost and by all means and methods, Marxism-Leninism, the science which blazes the way to all sciences, to everybody, students, teachers, pedagogues, the rank and file, workers, peasants, old and young.

Thorough knowledge of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, of dialectic and historic materialism by students, teachers and pedagogues should be our concern, and in this connection we should re-examine our texts, forms and methods of work. Natural, exact, social or other science, in short, every thing which is taught in schools, should be based entirely on correct Marxist-Leninist lines. A radical re-examination of texts with a view to cleansing them, is one of the most serious jobs assigned to us which we should not think the teachers alone can do well. Texts should be considered as an important domain where the line of the Party, its policy, its present aims and programs and preparations for the future are concretized. We should not conceive our new socialist school with all sorts of text books where bourgeois idealist concepts share the same room with Marxist-Leninist concepts. We should make no concessions to bourgeois idealistic philosophy and, least of all, to theology.

There are many things we should set on the right trail. I have said at other times before that our texts contain a lot of trash, but I deem it necessary to enlarge a bit on this matter, because I think that, in practice, this is being interpreted in a narrow sense and it is being oversimplified, for there is a tendency to chop up subjects left and right.

Let us take science. It has made great progress. To chop at any of the sciences at random and without a criterion is not at all scientific; it simply means to belittle science. The study of natural sciences should be conducted in a thorough revolutionary way. In this direction everything must of necessity be expressed clearly in our texts ridding them entirely of theology. Through the development and progress of science we clarify materialism and dialectics which we should exert every effort to impart to the students, teachers and pedagogues, for only then can they grasp the theory of development in its full context.

I have heard that our teachers have taken up for discussion the question whether the Linnean theory should be upheld, whether Linne's classification should be kept intact or whether it should be curtailed. This discussion is a positive one, but it would be more so when these amendments to Linné's theory or to any other theory are made in the light of materialist dialectics, that is to say, discarding those things which further development of botanics or of any other science and materialist dialectics have proved to be superfluous or

incorrect. And not to go about it like those people who say simply «this is of no use, that is of no use». The methods of these scientists have attained such a degree of perfection that only the ignorant can annul with a single stroke of the pen. Boys and girls attending schools — and let us not forget, and attach no weight to this — should learn genuine theory and science, for only in this way they will get a better grasp of the theory of relativity of human knowledge, a picture of matter in constant development.

Some take a shortcut and say: «of what use are these things to us?» But these people fail to understand that without learning these things, without taking them up in various forms, from the lowest to the highest, it is impossible to impart a materialist philosophical «weltanschauung» to our people of socialism, it is impossible to advance; on the contrary, we will fall back, we will be overwhelmed by obscurantism, theology and bourgeois philosophy. Lenin has expressed the idea that without sound philosophical argumentation neither natural science nor materialism can cope with the pressure exerted by bourgeois ideas and revival of bourgeois concepts. Our scholars of socialism should apply themselves patiently to study and be the most fiery champions of Marxist philosophy, in short, they should be materialist dialecticians.

Programs play a decisive role in schools of every category. Differentiated programs should be drawn up for every kind of school that will be established, and the corresponding texts should be revised or re-written. Side by side with this, we should also give due consideration to the serious problem of training new cadres and of raising the qualification of the existing ones. This is of primary importance, for it will be they who, having grasped the programs well, will apply them in our different schools. Their training should not be left to routine, for them too it is a matter of discipline, of schooling.

Therefore, the commission which I propose should set up sub-commission of specialists in subjects to be taught and their work should be guided by sound criteria and should be aided and supervised not once a year but at definite periods by the Central Commission.

Programs are of different kinds and many in number. I am not competent to speak about them but I think that, in addition to correct political and ideological orientations, they should provide for organic links in the whole range of the subject matter given in various classes without a single break

or mechanical repetition. I think that in this way the student will forget nothing during his or her schooling if the text is clear, simple and complete and he or she will thus be able to have the knowledge imparted to him or her well grounded. When these links will have been well built organically, the school will not be subjected to the necessary culling of subject matter at each stage of schooling or at each class, for it will have been based on correct lines in the light of dialectic and historic materialism which requires in an absolute way both culling and organic links, both clarity and accuracy of science of whatever category it may be.

Any fear of lack of comprehensive erudition, which some people pose, should not bother us at all, for this necessary erudition we should impart to our people in a progressive way and, if we build our school programs and texts in the way I just pointed out, our people will acquire a sound, broad and relatively complete culture and educational knowledge. They will keep many things in their head and even more than when we set our hearts upon imparting to them high-flown erudition which is beyond the scope and possibility of developing their intellect and practical know-how. Thus, our scholars, linguists or grammarians should strive to refrain from teaching the Albanian language in an academic way, stuffing the minds of the students with all sorts of categories, intending to impart to them also abstract and dry topics of erudition, superfluous and unnecessary to practical life. Linguistics should help the students to get a better grasp of and greater skill in using in practice the living language.

The acquisition of erudition requires more time, deeper studies, greater specialization than the school cycle can provide. Nevertheless, one who has been through school regularly cannot be considered ignorant; on the contrary, in the course of life and in life he or she will learn many other things, will broaden the horizon of his or her knowledge. Of importance, therefore, are the basis of studies, programs, texts, various experiments and the struggle in life to put this knowledge into practice and to enrich it with further learning. We should attach importance to the programs and texts of schools for all subjects.

In addition to those I just mentioned, we should attach particular importance to the sciences, to physics, mathematics, chemistry, to the specialized sciences like medicine, geology, mechanics and so on. All these sciences should be

taught well and, in order to teach them well, it is necessary not only for the texts to be clear, for the program to be well graded all along the school cycle and University, but also for the teacher to master the subject matter well.

The main and principled thing then is that our materialist dialectic concepts should run through texts, programs and teaching so that the pupil, student and teacher himself may form their communist «weltanschauung» and view the development and practical application of these sciences from a materialist dialectic angle.

Special attention should be paid in schools also to history and geography, first and foremost to those of our country, but also to those of the world, since there is a tendency not to give them due attention. This tendency must be fought against.

Our people should absolutely learn the history of our people in the light of historic materialism; therefore, the texts and programs of this subject should be re-examined with a critical eye.

The same way should be followed with the history of the peoples of the world. For this, I think, it is necessary to make radical changes and, in time and according to plan, to write up new ones, since the old ones have been borrowed from abroad and, most of them, particularly those of the higher institutes are built on different political and ideological criteria, inappropriate for our new socialist school, lacking the right proportions in their descriptions and losing the organic links which we should give to the teaching of this subject, to the history of the development of human society, under the prism of historic materialism. Therefore, there is a lot of work to be done in this respect both as regards quality, content policy and ideology as well as volume.

The teaching of the geography of our country is of major importance and, if it is neglected, the source of this manifestation must be looked for in the concepts of foreign schools, in the influence of the oppressive local regimes and invaders, whose interest it was that our people might not be acquainted with their country, that they might not be attached and devoted to it. Therefore, under this pressure, the geography of Albania was taught in a formal highly simplified way, listing rivers and mountains, etc. It is absolutely necessary to change this state of things altogether in our programs, texts, methods of instruction, and so on. The geography of our

country, both physical, political and economic, should be turned to a real science which, during the whole school cycle, should make our people fully acquainted with our homeland, its development and prospects. They should know and feel it, for it is on this land they live, work and create. The teaching of geography should be one of the most lively, one of the most interesting; book learning should be linked with terrain, with fields, with mountains, with rivers, with live stock. What vast prospects are opened up to such a teaching of the geography of our country! It is associated with tempering of patriotism and love of country, with economy, agriculture and industry; it trains future good geologists, engineers and agronomists; it promotes health, sports, tourism. If we conceive of geography in connection with all of these and if we know how to link the teaching of geography in schools with nature, with the land, then we will reach the right conclusion that we should make qualitative improvements in this subject.

Major changes should be made also to world geography which is inappropriate for us in the form and size it is being taught in our schools at present.

Re-examination of texts under this prism implies clean work on a scientific basis, work, which from the benches of primary schools to those of the university and even beyond it, makes the proper connections between theory and practice, for practice helps theory and theory helps and guides practice. If this organic link is properly made, then we will be able to serve the present and, at the same time, prepare for the future.

Re-examination of texts under the prism of materialist dialectics should be done for all the kinds of schools which we will designate, whereas abridgements of subjects for every type of lower or upper school or course should be made separately, so that they may meet the needs for which each school has been opened, complying with the educational standing of those who will attend it. But in general I think that these abridgements should always follow well studied scientific criteria according to some given orientations, and not one pulling one way and another the other, subtracting 10 hours from this and adding 20 hours to that. These should be avoided.

If we take the social sciences and, particularly, literature which is treated in schools of all branches, we will find very

disheartening things although many comrade communists have had a hand in and the Party has devoted major attention to it. If we look carefully into the way how our own and foreign literature are treated both in school and out of school (and this we should do in the light of our own philosophy), we will come across, not only weaknesses, irregularities, inconsequences, amateurisms, sensationalism and sickly erudition but also grave mistakes which cost us dearly and which will cost us more so, if we fail to correct them. In these matters we see the reflection of the philosophical views of the bourgeois school, the individual sympathies of one or of the other according to their inclinations, according to the school and culture they have been kneaded with having not yet succeeded in cleaning their «Augean stables» completely. They transmit in schools and life all these half-baked and not thoroughly cleansed ideas and views, these sympathies or passions for a local or foreign author of their stuffed and confused erudition, through recitation hours, lectures, conferences, articles and books they write. This constitutes a major risk and, if we fail to put order in this matter, we will have tolerated and made concessions to the bourgeois philosophy to fight us openly and almost officially on our own grounds.

The Epoch of Revival is a democratic revolutionary epoch, of major importance in the history and literature of our people, it is an enlightened epoch guided by illuminist ideas, by our most outstanding people of that period, which has rightly been called the revival of the nation, its emergence from mediaeval-feudal-imperialist darkness to light, to uprisings, to battle for freedom, independence, and democracy, for enlightenment and education.

Somewhere in his writings Engels has referred to the period of Revival, not to our Revival, but to the «Cinquecento» by which name is known the epoch of the latter half of the 15th century. He says that this was an enlightened epoch which brought forth prominent men, not only artists and painters but also scholars, philosophers who were burned at the stake by the Church, an epoch which brought forth physicists, astrologists and others who broke through mediaeval obscurity, who smashed religions and systems and who pushed economic, cultural and scientific development further ahead. But the analysis Engels makes of the epoch of Revival is a materialist dialectic and not an idealistic one, since the

impetus the people of the period of Revival imparted to society was neither complete nor perfect, it would undergo changes, it would develop and partial and radical upheavals would occur in the development of human society and in the various sciences. New or supplementary laws would emerge and, as Lenin says, «these upheavals in most cases give birth to major and minor reactionary philosophic schools and trends» the haze of which only our materialist philosophy can clear up and ward off the damage they do.

It is precisely from this angle that our Party has viewed the epoch of our Revival which it should further consider under the prism of dialectic materialism so that this period may be available to the school children, students, teachers, professors and people in its most clarified and correct form, analyzed in a Marxist-Leninist way both from the social and economic as well as educational, cultural and historical point of view, and not to suit the whim of one or the other. This should be done in this way.

We should view our people of the period of Revival in the right perspective, taking into account the period in which they lived, worked and fought; we should point out their ideas which were the product of the development of society at that period; we should point out the immediate and future objectives they intended to reach. If things are posed in this correct way, it will turn out that our men of the period of Revival were enlightened men imbued with progressive ideas, that they were courageous revolutionary illuminists endowed with a great and ardent love of country. They fought with rifle and pen for the freedom and independence of the people, for their enlightenment. All of these are their positive and great merits. We should impart to our people all these attributes and characteristics of the epoch of Revival and of our men of this epoch.

But we should not forget for a moment that these people of our Revival have their own negative sides which should be subjected to our Marxist-Leninist criticism. These weaknesses lie in their philosophic concepts which are idealistic. This is a heavy luggage, it is the philosophy of their epoch which is at variance and in conflict with our ideology. Like Marxists and in the interest of the people and of socialism, we should fight these negative sides. In ideology we cannot make concessions to rhyme or diction. The assessment Engels has made of Luther's language as a basis of German literary

language, has not prevented him at all from judging in true light and exposing the reactionary role of the Reform before and after the Peasant Revolt in Germany.

We should apply the same criterion in taking up for review the other periods of mental development in the sciences and letters, in art and music which are portrayed in texts. As I just said, these must be complete, but we should not tolerate the exaggerated mania of certain outstanding erudites who want to impart to students 'in toto' and at a short period of time, all the things which took them their whole life to learn.

This, I think, should not be interpreted to mean that we have no need for eminent scholars, for prominent specialists. On the contrary, we have great need for them, they are the wells of science and knowledge and through them we will multiply and qualify our higher cadres, but we should not confound the stages of development. A very learned person has and can find ways by which to make his teaching very understandable to the University student without loading him too much, he should know how to raise the dose to the specialist sent to him for further qualification.

As to foreign literature, I think that it has long been in a chaotic and very dangerous state in our schools and among the public. Although some improvements have been made during these recent two or three years, the situation is still precarious. In this field there is a lack of sound criteria; and where these are or are given, they have been distorted, bastardized. Therefore, the Party Central Committee should seriously take a hand in this, for there are matters of principle which should be forcefully asserted and the supervision of their implementation should be well organized. Someone takes a fancy to a novel, translates it and wants it to be published; if the translator is a high ranking person and the novel a «classic» work, it is printed and is given to the public to be fed on, regardless of the ideas expressed in it. On the other hand, this same translator will deliver a lecture on behalf of the Party, attacking the ideas of the novel he has translated. He is not bothered by his own discrepancy nor is the Publishing House which overfulfills its plan.

Into the hands of our people and youth we should place books not to misguide or disillusion them spiritually but to help them get acquainted with the development of society and, at the same time, to impart to them our own ideology.

Foreign literature is a wide and variegated field. A careful selection of what we need in this field is feasible but also difficult. The people who will make this selection should be endowed with a broad culture and firm Marxist-Leninist views. These people should have a good grasp of what is needed, not as a whole but in separate categories. While translating and publishing foreign literature, they should have a clear idea of the definite aims and intentions of our Party. In this important and delicate problem we should not allow snobbism, individual tastes, sickly predilections, nor should we allow nihilism by merely saying «we have no need of them at all». No, we stand in need of them but we will select as much and of those which will help our mental, artistic and cultural development.

Every nation has its own literature, and this is made up of many varieties and schools of thought. In their various phases of development and decadence, the bourgeoisie have created and create their own literature with major and minor writers, poets, musicians, artists etc. some of whom have resisted time and some of whom have been swept away in its maelstrom. But there is no sense in translating them 'en bloc', as if we cannot do without them or, as some may pretend, as if we cannot be abreast of the times without them. We should select those authors and those books which are most progressive, most revolutionary and of the most revolutionary moments, so that they may illustrate to our people what they have learned about the history of peoples, about their class struggle, about the development of their progressive thought. Such writers, poets and artists exist but we should never forget that in them we will not find all that we are after nor in the way we want it, since these progressive or revolutionary authors too reflect in their writings, if not directly, at least in one way or another, bourgeois ideas of life and thought that prevailed at the period in which they lived.

I stress it again that the study of Marxist philosophy should preoccupy us a lot since, without knowing and mastering it, we cannot form and educate our people. But I think that this important basic study at present is being conducted in a one-sided way and with old stereotyped and red-tape methods borrowed from the Soviet school unenlivened and unrefreshed with the vivid and militant experience of our Party, of socialist construction in our country. I think

also that this important study of materialist philosophy is not properly related to and coordinated with the other subjects, since the programs built and the lessons taught in the practice of various departments leave a lot to desire in this respect.

It is necessary to create a genuine materialist 'weltanschauung' among our intellectuals, in general, and among our students and professors, in particular. The study of Marxist-Leninist theory by them should follow certain parallel roads terminating at a point their Marxist-Leninist philosophical formation.

The first road is that of teaching dialectic and historic materialism as a separate and most important subject. This study should be conducted in a serious way with appropriate and understandable forms, in other words, teaching all the materialist philosophical synthesis formulated by our great classic writers and illustrating it with the struggle and practice of our Party and of the international communist movement. Thus, it is necessary to continue and perfect the way of teaching Marxist philosophy as we are actually doing and to denounce and expose the attempts the Soviet revisionists are actually making to eliminate Marxism-Leninism as the leading science and cast it into the realm of «logic». This should be the sound groundwork of the teaching of our philosophy which is the theory that gives us our bearings and guides us.

The second road or means which re-enforces the first and opens up clear vistas to put it into effect and use it as a compass and as a guide, is that of making, rebuilding and developing our texts, lectures, the method of teaching and the performance of experiments and practical work in compliance with our theory. Our theory should throw light on and explain these step by step, so that the student and pedagogue, the teacher and school-child may see in theory and concrete practice that the genuine and correct development of the sciences proceeds along only when it is guided and enlightened by dialectic and historic materialism.

The third means, but just as important, is the active participation of school children, students and pedagogues in the political and economic problems of the country while they are still being formed in schools and the university, since in this way they leave their book study and laboratory practice and embark on active revolutionary life where the basic

principles of our Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy are put into practice in a creative, variegated way yielding tangible results that can be seen and felt.

The organic permeation in teaching and education of our Party's ideology and policy should be realized together with the Marxist-Leninist principle of linking the teaching with the work and polytechnization of the school. We have taken some steps in this direction as far back as the 1930 Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party when we reorganized our schools on the basis of this principle. During recent years and in the revolutionary sphere of the whole life of our country, these steps have been enriched with new forms, initiatives and experiments. We will continually broaden and intensify this work.

These three main roads should be well combined.

For the first, a colossal heritage from our great classic writers, we should perfect our methods of work and study; for the second, we have a great deal to do and we should embark on this process very carefully and in a revolutionary way; for the third, we have already started but we should broaden, complete and perfect this process.

I wish to say a few words also about the method and style of work of teachers and pedagogues.

Our socialist school demands of teachers and pedagogues a new, revolutionary method and style of work; and for this to be so, the teachers themselves should be revolutionaries, should be educated in this way so that they may educate also the school children and students. The programs and texts, built in this spirit and on new methods, will teach the teachers and pedagogues themselves in this way. There is no doubt about this, but this will be insufficient if they confine themselves within their own castle, in their school-world, and fail to feel and temper themselves as active members of the vigorous revolutionary development of our socialist society. If they fail to live and work in this way, regardless of texts and programs, they will not be shock workers, innovators and revolutionaries in the method and style of their work, they will be overcome by routine, formalism, red-tapism and the method and style of their teaching will be inert, lifeless, they will turn to that style and method of the bourgeois school which is ready at prescribing recipes and which, pretending to be «didactic» or of an «experienced pedagogy», are anti-dialectic, non-revolutionary but reactionary and static.

A teacher's verbalism and sickly «academicism» are nothing else but a mania and a striking weakness behind which lies the deficiency of his knowledge of the subject matter and a tendency to keep this hidden from his students. A teacher of this type resorts to these methods in order to cover up the vacuum in his «knowledge» with meaningless verbiage. This, of course, creates a false situation between the educator and students, is a stumbling block to the complete education of students who get bored and try to escape from this situation by not being attentive, by chatting, by making noise or by scribbling senseless things in their notebooks. All these manifestations of students which are the result of an objective situation, are attributed by the unmethodic and flimsily prepared teacher, to the subjective aspect of the students, to their lack of discipline, of good conduct and so on. In order to correct this unfavorable situation for him, this teacher, being unable to make a self-critical analysis of his work and feeling superior to the students in all respects, resorts to unbecoming, peremptory, «pedagogical» methods, all of which point out clearly «authoritativeness», formal discipline, the force of marks, sickly antipathies, contemptuousness — all of them anti-educational and anti-pedagogic manifestations. The Party should take note of these and many other matters in the political, ideological and methodical education of teachers and pedagogues who have been entrusted with a major task.

While upholding with all firmness the extensive application of the line of the masses in the development of education and the work of our schools, while firmly encouraging within this framework the initiative of schools and teachers at the grass-root to carry out in a creative way the programs of teaching, the use of school texts in a creative way and with a critical eye, to perform experiments, we should, at the same time, base these initiatives always on the principle of democratic centralization.

Life is a great school and the school itself is nothing else but an integral part of life. Therefore, the school should be closely and harmoniously linked with the activities, work and thought of man, school should serve him and society as a whole. The socialist society and the coming communist society which the Party is building and preparing, have at each epoch and at each stage their laws and rules of deve-

lopment, of revolutionary transformations, which we should know, learn, master and apply consistently.

Preparations are called for in every thing, both before the operation begins and when it is in the process of development and after; we build the present but at the same time we look ahead and prepare for the future. During all this process of restless, not spontaneous but revolutionary development, the struggle of opposites creates progress and the dialectic development of opposites brings about those qualitative transformations which lead our society from a high stage to a still higher one. In this major revolution the decisive role is played by the masses guided by the communist party of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist ideology. Thus, through its ideology, the party should make the broad masses of people aware of this role, educate them in all aspects and render them capable of knowing, mastering and applying the laws of nature and of turning them into material values for the people, for society. Therefore, the school is an additional important stage to the other activities of man.

While building socialism the major objective of the Party is to form and forge the new communist man of a sound Marxist-Leninist political and theoretical outlook, endowed with Marxist-Leninist ethics, appreciations and tastes, with a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary, daring and creative spirit that sees things through. In this revolutionary struggle of forming and transforming, in this battle of educating and re-educating, in this contest of opposites, of the new with the old, in this class struggle, our new man from the moment he is born till his last breath wherever he works, creates and thinks, at every place and at every time wherever he sets his foot and lays down his head, should find the line of the Party and its philosophy materialized, should grasp the policy, theory and practical application of this line, should draw philosophic and practical conclusions from these achievements, should arm himself and forge ahead with multiplied forces and should always realize that all this are his achievements and the achievements of the people's masses guarded by his Party and its materialist philosophy.

Losing one's bearings, losing one's tracks as our people say, in all these things spells defeat. No section or sub-section of social activity should be neglected or allowed to develop apart from and in a chaotic way with others or with the whole. Of course there will be unequal developments among

sectors, there will be progress and retrogress, but these should be shortcomings of growth, of development and we should never allow them to spring from political and ideological deviations.

One of the major causes of the catastrophe which befell the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin after the latter's death is also this incongruence in grasping and applying aright the line in all fields, is the sclerotization of the theoretic and organizational principles of the party, is the lack of waging the class struggle in a radical, continuous and consistent way, is bureaucracy and many others which have been the object of many former studies and analyses of our Party and which is not the place to enlarge on here. In short, the Khrushchevite modern revisionists seized power, eliminated the Party as the Party of the working class, eliminated its Marxist ideology and substituted it with the idealist ideology, and they are now turning the State of the proletariat into a bourgeois one with capitalist economy.

The modern revisionists have wrecked the Soviet school turning it into a bourgeois school with a view to creating a young anti-communist generation, a prop to the capitalist regime which they have restored in their country.

In conclusion, we must not forget for a moment all these situations, these risks; let us have a clear head and an iron fist against the enemies of the people, of the Party and of socialism; let us not lose sight of the role of the masses and the colossal importance of the younger generation which make the present strong and the future secure; let us never forget that in this major struggle which the Party is waging with success, the campaign to successfully build a new socialist school is one of our greatest and most delicate tasks in which we are fully convinced that our Party as always will score success, as it always does in every thing else.

ON FULFILLING TASKS TO FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZE OUR SCHOOLS

— Excerpts from a speech delivered by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and Head of the Central Commission of Education at the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, at the National Forum which met in Tirana on April 11 & 12 this year to discuss tasks emerging from Comrade Enver Hoxha's March 7 speech on further revolutionizing our schools.

Comrades!

We have come here today to take up together the measures to be taken and the way to be followed in putting into effect the theses contained in Comrade Enver Hoxha's historic speech delivered on March 7 this year at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party on further revolutionizing our schools.

Our Party has always devoted its attention to the development of our new school along lines which comply with the interests of socialism considering the school as a great and principal center where the new socialist man is formed bearing the features of a genuine revolutionary, imbued with Marxist-Leninist materialist concepts and with the necessary training to accomplish his tasks as a builder and champion of socialism in his own life and in society.

The development of our schools on revolutionary lines both as regards quantity and quality and the major successes we have scored in the domain of education and culture make up one of the most glorious pages of the history of our Party and of our People's Power.

The revolutionization of our school is not a temporary but a permanent task. The development of schools under the socialist regime is an integral part of our perpetual revolution which never stops halfway but forges always ahead. This course, the revolutionary course of ever advancing development, has been followed in our schools as well as in the other spheres of our life and activity.

Mistakes, shortcomings and gaps in our school system have been inevitable fellow way-farers along our course of development; but they do not form the main features of the development of our school; they are handicaps of growth; our new school, founded and guided by our glorious Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has always been and continues to be on revolutionary lines. And the question today is not to effect a complete overturn in our schools but to further develop them, to fight with more revolutionary boldness and in a more organized way against the mistakes, shortcomings and gaps existing in our school, to raise our schools to the height of the major tasks of the times in order to complete the building of socialist society, to make a further essential and inevitable qualitative leap for which all objective and subjective conditions are ripe.

The new qualitative leap which we intend to make in the domain of education does in no way mark the end of our tasks regarding the revolutionizing of our schools. One qualitative leap does not break the continuity of development, on the contrary, this qualitative leap creates suitable conditions to push development ahead along revolutionary lines in order to pave the way and carry out a subsequent, still more important qualitative leap in the general process of continuous and uninterrupted development. This has been and will continue to be the line of the revolutionary development of our schools.

Further development on the lines of uninterrupted revolution and not an overturn — this is the task set for us by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the field of education.

In order to accomplish this major historic task with which our school is faced, we will take our clue from the great Marxist-Leninist theses outlined in Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee on the further revolutionization of our school.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee on the further revolutionization of our school is a document of major historic significance for our Party and our people in general and, particularly, for our younger generation and our new school where this younger generation is trained to carry further ahead the torch of revolution as well as for our intellectuals who are champions of revolution. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech makes a synthetic analysis of the course which our new school has followed under the guidance of our Party during nearly a quarter of a century of the existence of People's Power, it makes an analysis of the successes and shortcomings in the domain of education and it is a major work program to carry the school ahead and always ahead along the path of revolution blazed by our Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The theses outlined in Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech are a continuation and development of theses «On the Further Intensification of the Ideological and Cultural Revolution» presented in the Report which Comrade Enver Hoxha submitted at the 5th Party Congress.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech «On the Further Revolutionizing of our School» is firmly based on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, it is a comprehensive summing up of these teachings under the actual conditions of the concrete development of our socialist society, in general, and of our new school in particular. In this speech we have the concentration of the general line of our Party for the past and present period as well as its future development in the domain of education, in the domain of our new school. Thus, Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech is the ideological, political and organizational platform for the further revolutionization of our school.

The task assigned to this Forum by the Party Central Committee is to take our clue from the major ideological, political and organizational platform contained in Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech «Towards further Revolutionizing Our Schools» and delve deep into its substance and take all concrete steps to put into application the theses on the further revolutionization of our schools.

The only correct method that makes the implementation of this major and intricate task possible is to rely on the

masses, to apply the line of the masses. «The problem of education», Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «is a major problem of the Party, of the Government, of the people as a whole».

The accomplishment of the major task we are faced with in further revolutionizing our school, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, requires, first and above all, that the problem of education and culture should become the serious concern of the Party organs and organizations in general and of the District Party Committees, in particular.

If the Party Committee fails to pay serious attention to the problem of education and culture, it will have shirked from fulfilling one of its basic functions, namely, the training of a young generation to be faithful to Marxism-Leninism and to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The District Party Committees should delve deep into the criticism Comrade Enver Hoxha subjects them to in connection with the direction of schools and they should make a radical turn in improving their work and eliminating their shortcomings in this direction. It should be brought home to the District Party Committees that the ideological formation of man as a revolutionary, as a consistent fighter to build socialism and communism is the most fundamental problem for us and that the ideological formation of our new revolutionary man is done in schools as well as out of school bounds, in society. Without this ideological formation the process of socialism is prejudiced, it is inevitably jeopardized and paves the way to revisionism and capitalism.

Of course, the Party Committee guides the whole life of the district, it guides the economy, it guides the whole activity of the district, it guides the State organs, social organizations, and so on, but it is not at all reasonable for the Party Committee to devote equal attention to matters dealing with agriculture and municipal services as the Executive Committee of the Regional People's Council, resulting often in duplicating economic and administrative organs. It is the task of the Party Committee to guide economy but not to manage it as if it were an economic or State organ. It is a fact that the Party Committees lose much time doing the work which it is the job of the economic and State organs to do and then complain that they have no time to attend to matters of education and culture. But is it reasonable for the Secretary of the Regional Party Committee to attend

personally to, say, looking for raw materials for a factory or for spare parts for tractors which is the duty of the factory people themselves or, at most, of the Executive Committee and to find no time to attend to matters of education and culture the way he should? This is not right at all.

If we want to see things through in order to ensure the ultimate triumph of the socialist way in our country, the Party teaches us, then we should «catch the bull by its horns». And «catching the bull by its horns», that is, taking hold of the main links in the long chain of our numerous jobs, is for the organs and organizations of the Party to give priority to matters of ideology, to the Marxist-Leninist ideological education of our new man, consequently, to matters of education and culture.

To deviate from the Marxist-Leninist ideological way, (and this deviation is inevitable if we fail to give priority to the ideological education of people) means to bring about a catastrophe. Whereas, to concentrate on the ideological education of people, on arousing their revolutionary awareness through all forms of education, means not only to attain immediate success but also to bring about ultimate victory. The ideological tempering of man is a guaranty for every success in revolution. This is what the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism teach us. The experience of our Party corroborates it too.

1) — Through further revolutionization of our school, the Party's major intention is to form and temper the new man, a resolute revolutionary endowed with the Marxist-Leninist 'weltanschauung'.

In its struggle for the cause of socialism and communism, our Party has always considered the formation and tempering of the new communist man one of its most important and most vital intentions and tasks. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The major objective of the Party is, that by building socialism, it should form and forge the new communist man of sound Marxist-Leninist political and theoretic outlook, endowed with a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary, daring and creative spirit that sees things through». Let us enlarge a bit on this thesis:

Firstly, this means that at present the formation and tempering of the new communist man can be effected only

in the process of socialist construction. Our new communist man cannot be formed and tempered apart from socialist construction, apart from the reality of socialist construction. Learning is not an objective in itself but a way to become capable of serving society, socialism, the people.

Therefore, learning cannot be severed from life nor life from learning; the school cannot be severed from production nor production from the school, mental work cannot be severed from manual work nor manual work from mental work. To counterpose the school to socialist construction, theory to practice, mental work to manual work and vice-versa would mean to dig the grave for socialism with your own hands. Whereas, a right combination of the school with socialist construction, of theory with practice, of mental with manual work and vice-versa means to be on the right road towards forming and tempering the new communist man and bringing about the ultimate triumph of socialism.

Secondly, this thesis of Comrade Enver Hoxha's means that the formation and tempering of the new communist man cannot be attained without imbuing the new man with the high socialist sense of duty based on sound Marxist-Leninist theory and 'weltanschauung'.

Whether one is a revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary depends on one's concepts and acts which are inspired by those concepts, on whether those concepts are Marxist-Leninist concepts and actions revolutionary actions or whether those concepts are bourgeois and revisionist concepts and actions counter-revolutionary actions.

But, according to this thesis of Comrade Enver Hoxha's, sound Marxist-Leninist concepts should be formed both politically and theoretically. It is not enough to be on revolutionary lines from the political and general point of view alone. This is incomplete. It will be complete only when one's Marxist-Leninist concepts are formed on the basis of mastering Marxist-Leninist theory and putting it into practice.

From this it follows that it is not enough for school children and students to applaud the line of the Party but that they should be theoretically convinced why it is the right thing to applaud the Party line. Hence the task of seeing to it that the Marxist-Leninist concepts must be imparted to youth during the entire process of schooling and in all suitable forms, that is, not only through the special theoretic teaching of Marxism-Leninism but also through mastering all the

school subjects taught in schools which should be permeated through and through with Marxist-Leninist materialist world outlook as well as through the active and zealous participation of school youth in the political, economic and social life of the school and of the whole country. In this way, when the student and under-graduate leaves school and embarks on practical life, he or she will have been well trained ideologically as a torch bearer of the revolution and a resolved enemy of bourgeois and revisionist ideology to the last day of his or her life.

If we fail to see to it that the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory is mastered and Marxist-Leninist concepts are formed through all the complexity of forms as early as at school, then the students and graduates will leave school and embark on practical life ideologically untrained, limping from the ideological point of view and then, at the first obstacle encountered in their lives, will very likely fall into the lap of hostile ideology.

Thirdly, this thesis of Comrade Enver Hoxha's means that one cannot have a sound political and Marxist-Leninist theoretical world outlook if one is not imbued with a revolutionary spirit; and this revolutionary spirit cannot be formed if one feels indifferent in life towards events and towards the enemy, if one is passive and not active, timid and not daring, stereotypical and dogmatic and not creative and realistic in a Marxist-Leninist way. It is not enough to learn in school or out of school the Marxist-Leninist theory from books, for this learning is not an objective in itself but is acquired and should be acquired in order to form the new revolutionary man who should be active, daring, creative and realistic according to Marxism-Leninism, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says.

To be a shock and daring fighter of the revolution, of the socialist way means to be endowed with revolutionary courage in order to actively fight against any manifestation at variance with the socialist way, to dare and oppose any one who sets himself up against the socialist way, who embraces the capitalist way. It is training such youth the Party is after in order to forestall the birth of revisionism and restoration of capitalism.

There is no sense in learning Marxist-Leninist theory in the school benches or outside the school premises just for the sake of having it done, of conforming with the directives

of the Party and then, on the other hand, maintaining an indifferent attitude in practical life towards the mistakes of others, and worse still, failing to fight your own mistakes; or posing to be creative in figurative arts when the substance of your production is at variance with Marxist-Leninist theory and your painting portrays bourgeois ideology; or when ninety-nine of the hundred lines of your poem are «sugar-coated» in order to cover up the one into which you have inserted the poison; or when you have received excellent marks in school and even in Marxist-Leninist subjects, but knock on all doors and trump up all possible justifications to get an easy white-colored job in some cozy corner yielding as fat a salary as possible, instead of being bold enough to turn out material values for socialism, grappling with the hardest of jobs just as the heroic partisans grappled, of their own free will and with a high revolutionary sense of duty, with the machine gun of the enemy.

A genuine revolutionary accompanies his words with deeds, does not only think but act as a revolutionary everywhere, at all times and on all matters.

2) — Why our Party considers the formation and forging of the new, truly revolutionary man of Marxist-Leninist concepts one of its major and complicated tasks.

Revolution is neither a football match nor a road strewn with flowers but a very great cause of historic significance which decides the destiny of people and is effected through very great and numerous hardships.

In our socialist revolution, our people guided by our Party have surmounted major and numerous difficulties and obstacles. The annals of our Party bear testimony to this. The whole world, friends and enemies, are aware of this.

The question arises how it has been possible for the People's Republic of Albania, a tiny socialist country, beset with thousand and one perils, traps and plots by internal and external enemies, surmounting many difficulties of every kind, far from being swallowed up by Tito, far from being forced to its knees by Khrushchev, far from being waylaid by the latter's successors, far from having capitulated to the imperialists, is successfully building socialism, being geographically encircled on all sides in the center of capitalist and revisionist Europe? How did this marvellous thing come about?

Fifteen years have passed by since Stalin died and the dictatorship of the proletariat began to tumble over in the socialist countries of Europe. Following Stalin's death the dictatorship of the proletariat and the communist parties in European socialist countries, first of all in the Soviet Union, crumbled to pieces and collapsed as if they were castles built of cardboard with their foundations on sand.

At present only little Albania has remained as a real standard bearer of socialism in Europe. All wonder how such a thing can take place. But this is the reality although it is not to the liking of our enemies. And this reality can be accounted for by the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party and the correct and consistent implementation of this line.

While building up and carrying out its general Marxist-Leninist line, our Party has considered and considers the formation and forging of the new genuine revolutionary man of Marxist-Leninist concepts as one of its greatest and most complicated tasks, without the application of which the main objective of the Party which is the building of socialism and communism cannot be attained. Our Party is busily engaged in carrying out this task. And if Albania has breasted all storms, has become an insuperable socialist bastion in capitalist and revisionist Europe and holds aloft and unstained the banner of Marxism-Leninism, this is due above all to the fact, that our Party has in general carried out well this fundamental and historic task, regardless of the weaknesses of growth which are noticed in its application.

Our Party considers the formation and forging of the new, genuinely revolutionary man of Marxist-Leninist concepts as one of its greatest and most complicated tasks and has concentrated its main attention to the implementation of this historic task because like a Marxist-Leninist Party — the vanguard of the working class — it has gained and summed up a rich historical experience and has worked out clearly defined Marxist-Leninist concepts, particularly, on the decisive role of man in revolutions and socialist construction and of priority of ideology in all matters, on the class struggle and on the uninterrupted consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on priority of general to personal interest, on subjecting personal to general interests, and so on. And our Party has consistently abided by these major and vital teachings in its revolutionary practice.

Firstly, our Party, in line with the teachings of the

classical authors of Marxism-Leninism and our experience in life, considers that revolutions as well as counter-revolutions are the work of the people and man is the decisive factor in social development.

Proceeding from this fundamental Marxist-Leninist concept, our Party became the devoted student of «the unerring teacher people» and also the devoted teacher of the broad laboring masses in shaping and forging the new man.

It is due to these ways and methods of our Party that our people, guided by our Party, fought with heroism against foreign invaders and the exploiting classes of our country, that they liberated the country and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they built the economic basis of socialism, frustrated all schemes and conspiracies of our imperialist and revisionist enemies and are forging ahead triumphantly towards the complete construction of socialist society. Our Party will pursue the same course in the days to come as well.

Since our Party considers man as the decisive factor in social development, it has done and does good, allround and complicated work in inculcating and consolidating the socialist sense of duty among our new men through their Marxist-Leninist ideological education, through the class struggle and through the struggle for building socialism.

Our Party teaches and life itself has proven a thousand and one times that there is no and there cannot be any vacancy in a man's consciousness. Man is not born a revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary but he becomes a revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary in life. In order to become a revolutionary he must first form a revolutionary awareness of revolutionary concepts as an essential condition for revolutionary activity. In order to become a counter-revolutionary he first forms a counter-revolutionary awareness of bourgeois or revisionist concepts which lead to counter-revolutionary acts.

If the conscience of our youth is not nurtured systematically, methodically and constantly with Marxist-Leninist ideology then the vacancy which begins to be formed in the minds of these youth, for lack of our ideology in their consciousness, will inevitably be filled with bourgeois and reactionary ideology. In this case, the vacancy we allow to create in the consciousness of our youth by not nourishing them with our Marxist-Leninist ideology will disappear

because the bourgeois ideology will inevitably replace the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideology.

So long as the class struggle is in existence, a man's mind is bound to be fed with class ideology, it does not tolerate a vacancy, it imbibes either the ideology of the working class or bourgeois and revisionist ideology. This is an objective law. If we go against this objective law and neglect to constantly nourish our youth, our worker or peasant, our intellectual or armyman with the ideology of our Party in order to enrich their Marxist-Leninist awareness, bourgeois and revisionist ideology will claim them for their own.

This process may also take place gradually. Thus, by slackening our ideological work in nourishing the consciousness of man with Marxist-Leninist ideology, a vacancy starts to be created in a man's mind. But, let us not forget that in the consciousness of our men there exists the feeling of running after personal interests, of placing this interest above the general interest, a feeling which is the infecting «germ» that may bring about the restoration of capitalism if this «germ» is not bombarded by our Marxist-Leninist ideology. In the vacancy which has just begun to be created in the consciousness of man because of lack of Marxist-Leninist ideological nourishment, there is bound to penetrate the bourgeois and revisionist ideology based on the feeling of placing personal interest above every thing and on many other evils which man inherits in his mind from the past.

In this case, right at the start of this complicated process in the mind of man, one comes to the co-existence between the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideology and the bourgeois and revisionist counter-revolutionary ideology. But these two ideologies cannot co-exist in the consciousness of man. They are engaged in a life and death struggle with each other. And, finally, only one of them will occupy an exclusive place in the mind of man leaving no vacancy for the opposite ideology to occupy, either our Marxist-Leninist ideology in which case our man will remain and continue to be a revolutionary, or the ideology of the enemy, in which case this man who belonged to us becomes one of the enemy because he becomes a counter-revolutionary.

That is why our Party holds fast, as it has done in the past, to the problem of the ideological education of man and considers it as one of its basic and decisive tasks for the

destiny of socialism. And, since the education of the new man in the revolutionary spirit and of Marxist-Leninist concepts starts on the school benches, we should concentrate our attention on the ideological education of our school youth, giving priority to the ideological training of school children and students, above all other subjects he learns in school.

Out of school life too we should give priority, to the ideological education of man, above all other matters.

Secondly, our Party considers the shaping and tempering of the new, truly revolutionary man of Marxist-Leninist concepts as one of its greatest and most complicated tasks because the class struggle, especially in the domain of ideology, continues and will continue during the whole historic epoch of socialist construction. And this class struggle is waged by people, the fate of final victory in the sphere of class struggle depends on people, on the conscience of people who are carriers of the ideology of a given class.

«Adherence or non-adherence to the class struggle in socialism» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «is a matter of principle, it is the line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists, between revolutionaries and traitors to the revolution. Any departure from the class struggle results in death-dealing consequences for the destiny of socialism».

Our Party holds the view that the class struggle continues not only during the time when the exploiting classes exist as such but also after the exploiting classes have been done away with and only the survivals of these exploiting classes exist. This is the stage we are going through at present when the exploiting classes have been eliminated as such and only the survivals of these classes remain.

At the present stage, the class struggle in our country is being waged between the working class, the laboring peasantry and people's intelligentsia, on one side, and the survivals of the overthrown and disowned exploiting classes, the various enemies of socialism who are bound to spring from our ranks, feudal and capitalist survivals in the minds of people, the influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and the pressure of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement of our country, on the other. Socialist Albania takes active part also in the class struggle waged on an international level as champion of the cause of the international

proletariat and of oppressed people and against the imperialist and the modern revisionist bourgeoisie.

The center of gravity of the class struggle in our country at present has passed from the economic to the ideological sphere. The class struggle in the ideological sphere will continue for a long time even after the survivals of the exploiting classes have been done away with.

It is true that revolutionary ideology paves the way to revolution as a vanguard. But also counter-revolutionary ideology, when the counter-revolution has been disposed of by the revolution, offers stubborn resistance. The class struggle in the ideological sphere will still continue for a long time also when the exploiting classes as such have been eliminated and even after the survivals of these classes have been done away with because the counter-revolutionary ideology, in this case, turns into a rearguard of the counter-revolution, it continues to affect and influence the minds of people for a time yet. And if we fail to deal a deathblow at it, it, the counter-revolutionary ideology, will be in a position to launch a counter-offensive and turn from a rearguard to a vanguard of counter-revolution in order to pave the way to counter-revolution and dig the grave to the revolution.

This phenomenon of the class struggle on the ideological front up to this stage, that is, the prolongation of the class struggle on the ideological front for some time, even after the elimination of the survivals of the exploiting classes, is a natural and an inevitable one as long as «social consciousness *reflects* social being», as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, which means that social consciousness changes *after* the changes that come about in social being, that the consciousness of man *lags behind* social being, that is, changes occur *first* in social being and *then* are these changes reflected in the consciousness of people. In that case, the class struggle will still continue for a time also because of the existence of the international bourgeoisie and of the class struggle on an international level which cannot fail to exert an influence on the consciousness of our people, on our internal affairs.

Just as the danger of the emergence of revisionism and of the restoration of capitalism in our country is not removed yet for some time even after the elimination of the exploiting classes and their survivals within the country, so will also the danger of the emergence of revisionism and of the restoration of capitalism in one country or another continue

to exist even after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on an international level.

Hence, it behooves us to be on our guard and not to rest on our oars under the supposition that since we have done away with the exploiting classes there is apparently no danger of the emergence of revisionism and of the restoration of capitalism in our country. Although the experience of our Party so far has proven that even a little country and a small Marxist-Leninist Party as our country and as our Party, are, can ward off the restoration of capitalism after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, nevertheless this very positive experience does not prove that we are immune from the danger of the emergence of revisionism and restoration of capitalism; this danger will continue to exist for our country for a relatively long time, not only after the elimination of the survivals of the exploiting classes but it will continue to exist for a time even after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat the world over.

Hence, the vast and decisive importance of the mastery by our people of the Marxist-Leninist concepts on the class struggle. It is for this reason that our Party gives priority to the class ideological education of our people, first and foremost, to the class ideological education of the younger generation who will take up and pass on the torch of revolution.

Hence also the vast importance to the destiny of socialism in our country of the constant consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the basic and most important trends of activity of which, all along the process of socialist and communist construction and defense of the revolution, lies in the development of the class struggle on the ideological front, in the struggle to educate the new communist man and inculcate in him Marxist-Leninist concepts and a high communist sense of duty.

The dictatorship of the proletariat will last as long as the danger of capitalist restoration will exist; and the danger of capitalist restoration will last as long as the class struggle lasts on all fronts of social life not only on a national but also on an international level.

The dictatorship of the proletariat will cease to exist only when the complete and ultimate victory of the socialist

way is assured over the capitalist way not only on a national but also on an international level; and the ultimate triumph of the socialist way over the capitalist way will be considered attained only when it will be attained, among others, also on the ideological front, on the front of the class struggle in the ideological domain not only on a national but also on an international level.

Thirdly, our Party considers the shaping and tempering of the new, truly revolutionary man of Marxist-Leninist ideas, as one of its major and most complicated tasks because no one among us is immune from the influence of bourgeois ideology, for while being carriers of the revolution we are, at the same time, carriers also of the counter-revolutionary «germ» as long as the placing of personal above general interest is not removed.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Let no one imagine that he or she is exempt from all evil and that there is nothing he or she can fight against in him or herself. *A bitter battle, goes on in the consciousness of every one between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology.* Each one should look at oneself as if on a mirror and just as one washes one's face every day, one should cleanse one's own consciousness every day maintaining a communist stand towards oneself.»

This Marxist-Leninist thesis of Comrade Enver Hoxha's means that each one of us revolutionaries without exception, is not only a subject but also an object of the class struggle and revolution, that is, that we are not and should not be active fighters against the enemy of the revolution and against the enemy of the class alone, but we should at the same time effect the revolution and wage the class struggle in our own selves, in our innermost, against every evil in our consciousness which is at variance with the interests of the revolution, at variance with the socialist way. Why does this occur? This occurs precisely because each one of us, all without exception, though we are revolutionaries and forge always ahead as such, we are at the same time carriers of the evil, carriers of something which may turn us back from revolution to counter-revolution if we fail to wage a bitter battle against this evil which lies in our consciousness. This evil is the feeling of placing personal above general interests, a feeling which as long as it exists, forms always the basis for a backward turn also of a revolutionary, for his or her turn from revolution to counter-revolution, from the socialist

to the capitalist road, if this feeling of personal interest is nourished and keeps being nourished by the bourgeois ideology or its influence to the extent of turning into a malicious and incurable disease.

In this way, each one of us proceeds along the path of revolutionary life subjected, at the same time, to the action of two opposite forces: one of these forces, the principal force, being our Marxist-Leninist revolutionary world outlook which pulls us ahead along the socialist road; the other being the placing of personal interest above the general interest which serves as a hotbed for bourgeois ideology and which pulls always backward towards the re-establishment of private property, that is, towards the restoration of capitalism.

And the law of resultant of forces acts here in a merciless way. In this battle between two forces, the stronger force wins in the consciousness of the man who is the object of revolution, because when two opposite forces come into grips, the one which enjoys superiority always comes off victorious.

Since our Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the feeling of general interest among us constitute a more powerful force than the feeling of personal interest and since this force that pushes us ahead is greater than the force, that pulls us backward, it follows that we march always ahead on the road of socialism, while the restoration of capitalism has so far found no vantage ground in our country.

But in our march forward, the «germ» of placing personal interest above every thing in our consciousness continues and will continue to pull us backward till the last day of our lives. This evil force that pulls us backward will exist during the entire historic period of socialist construction not only on a national but also on an international level and will be removed as a retrogressive force only with the triumph of communism not only on a national but also on an international level.

There are certain persons who proceed along the socialist road for a time and then capitulate before the enemy and become enemies of the people, counter-revolutionaries. Let us look a bit at the evolution that takes place in their consciousness. This phenomenon takes place in a person of this kind that while marching forward the force that pushes him ahead along the revolutionary road, that is, his Marxist-Leninist world outlook is weakened and, at the same time and to the same extent, the force that pulls him backward, that is, his

inclination of placing personal interest above general interest as well as the influence of bourgeois ideology which had taken root in his consciousness, becomes stronger. When an equilibrium is reached between these two opposing forces, a person of this kind finds himself at the crossroads, is at a loss as to which road to take; forward — along the socialist road — or backward along the capitalist road. But his hesitation is only temporary. The person who is subjected to this dilemma either musters his efforts from an ideological point of view and forges again ahead as a revolutionary vanquishing the evil force that pulls him backward or ends in falling a victim to the retrogressive force which pulls him backward and becomes a counter-revolutionary.

This has happened to all persons who have run astray: some who had been marching along with us but had made a temporary about-face and then had had a second thought and have booted out the evil have ended in returning to the right road, to our socialist road; whereas, certain others who had been marching along with us but had made an about-face and have continued to march backward have ended in following the hostile, anti-socialist course.

The aim of our ideological education is that, even when a man errs, he should have the political and ideological maturity to admit his mistake and to have the revolutionary courage to boot out and down the evil, so that not he may abandon the revolutionary course but march always ahead keeping pace with our society as a whole.

The inclination towards personal interest, of placing it above general interest is not manifested only in running after a fat salary, after money and after material advantages. It is a feeling which has been taking root in the consciousness of people and has been cultivated all along thousands of years, ever since classes sprang up in human society, it is a one-thousand-headed Hydra: it is manifested in forms ranging from those of running after money, after material advantages, egoism, greed, envy, the spirit of personal revenge, intrigue, fraud, indolence, comfort, personal glory, arrogance, conceit, violation of discipline at work, viewing things from a personal angle to familiarity and nepotism, localism, servilism, conformism, indifferentism, bureaucratism and so on and so forth.

Thus, the above thesis of Comrade Enver Hoxha's demands, first and foremost, that we should take cognizance of the objective reality that each one of us is not only the

subject but also the object of the revolution and class struggle, that is, we do not only fight and we should fight against our enemy or against hostile ideology in others but we should fight also against the influence of bourgeois ideology in our own consciousness. This is the primary premise to tempering our new socialist man through the class struggle.

On the other hand, by recommending that we should cleanse our consciousness day in day out and maintain a communist stand towards ourselves, the above thesis of Comrade Enver Hoxha's points out the way we should win in the bitter battle going on in our consciousness between socialist and bourgeois ideology by vanquishing the latter which still occupies a place in our consciousness (so long as the inclination to place personal above general interest still vegetates in our consciousness), by vanquishing the evil, by subjecting personal to general interests and by forging always ahead along the path of revolution.

Subjecting personal to general interests is a basic principle without the practical application of which by our cadres, workers, youth and the people as a whole, the socialist way is bound to be replaced by the capitalist way.

It is for these reasons just mentioned that our Party attaches greatest importance to the ideological education of people, first and foremost, to the Marxist-Leninist education in our schools for without the Marxist-Leninist education of our school youth and teachers there can be no further revolutionization of our school.

In carrying out the major historic task of shaping and tempering our new man endowed with a Marxist-Leninist consciousness, our Party has directed its main attention to youth. It is youth who are charged with the major historic task of taking up and passing on the torch of revolution.

If we educate our youth as we should ideologically, then they will become loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the dictatorship of the proletariat, they will push ahead our revolution. If we fail to imbue our youth with Marxist-Leninist ideology, we may be sure that the bourgeois and revisionist ideology will inevitably take the place of our Marxist-Leninist ideology in the consciousness of our youth and then the catastrophe which has taken place in revisionist countries will be shared by us as well. So far we have not allowed this catastrophe to take place in our country because our Party

has imbued our people and our youth with Marxist-Leninist ideology, with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook. But now we are faced with a still greater task, that of making a fresh qualitative leap in further revolutionizing our school and, particularly, in forming a more comprehensive Marxist-Leninist world outlook in our youth and our intellectuals.

We should never forget that our school youth have no practical knowledge of what capitalism is like for when the capitalist and fascist regime held sway in Albania these youths had not yet been born. They learn what capitalism is and what the National-liberation war has been only through books and explanations by the teachers, through what their parents relate to them and through out-of-school literature. But we must admit that what we impart to youth is still lacking ability to command interest. We should educate our youth in an allround way so that they may be well acquainted with the past, live the present and prepare for the future.

The ideological education of school youth should be complex and allround, realistic and not formal, it should be carried out in an active not in a passive way, so that when they leave school they may have already been endowed with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook leaving no room for the influence of bourgeois ideology in their consciousness, so that every young man and young woman should not only learn and think but also work, fight and live like a revolutionary.

There is no sense in teaching Marxist-Leninist theory in school when the teacher or professor himself has not been imbued with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook. What effect could have in the consciousness of a young man or young woman a word formally Marxist-Leninist by a teacher or professor when he himself does not put into practice what he says?

For all the reasons we just pointed out, the application of the great theses outlined in Comrade Enver Hoxha's historic speech on further revolutionizing our school demands, first of all, a further politicalization of our school, that is, giving absolute priority to ideological education through all the forms in our schools and not only in our schools but in all our social life.

This is the way the question is posed regarding the tempering of the new, revolutionary man imbued with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook according to the teachings

of our Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha under our present conditions. This is the gist of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech on the further revolutionizing of our schools.

3. — «Life is a big school and school itself is nothing but a component part of life.»

Learning in school is only the initial stage of education while learning after being through school, during practical life, is a longer phase of life during which we should continue to learn and always to learn, «... learning» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said «should always continue, should proceed without interruption throughout one's lifetime.»

To learn all along one's life and outside the school premises and after having been through school is in itself a revolutionary concept on learning, on the school because it extends the scope of learning, it discards the concept of learning in schools just to receive a degree and make a career, it places man on the road to perpetual study and service to society.

In order to materialize this important thesis of our Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha it behooves us to re-examine the whole proces of learning through all the lifetime of man in the family, during the pre-school, school and after-school period. We should organize our work in such a way as to make our new man feel and deem it necessary to feel to be a student, that is, to keep learning all along his living days and we should create facilities for him to attend school, that is to enrich his knowledge throughout his lifetime.

Launching the idea that learning in school is nothing but an integral part of learning which should continue all along a man's life time implies that not only the professional but also the ideological training of our new man should continue throughout his living days. «Let us educate ourselves throughout our life time so that we may create, so that our thoughts may guide production and development» are Comrade Enver Hoxha's words. Thus, education or schooling assumes the broad sense of being essential to serving society better, to enhancing creative thinking as a prerequisite to raising the leading role of thought over production and development.

In order to succeed in substantiating the principle of learning and education throughout a man's lifetime it is

necessary for this concept to be deeply inculcated in youth from the time they receive their education in the family and at the school benches so that they may be guarded against forming concepts of careerism and conceit or of being content with what little they have learned being under the impression that «since they have been through school they have reached the culminating point of knowledge and education»; youth should be made to realize that in school they have just begun to be formed into the new man, but, in order to become consistent, genuine revolutionaries, they should develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook they have formed in school further along even out of school, in practical life, throughout their living days and they should at the same time, not confine their professional skill to just what they have acquired in school but should continue to improve their skills even after school, throughout the days of their lives.

It must be said, however, that although the broad concept of learning throughout one's lifetime, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has put it, has begun to be put into practice among us, it is not being put into practice in full as required by all. This is a serious discrepancy which should be overcome without fail through persuasive and organizational measures. Otherwise, we will tolerate the crystalization of the narrow, bourgeois career-seeking concept of schooling according to which it is sufficient for a man to have been through school, to have received a degree in order to get a job with as fat a salary as possible. This is dangerous not only because it narrows down and smothers the sphere of learning and education, confining them within the four walls of schools but also because it turns people both to egotists and narrow-minded career-seekers. Moreover, if youth confine the development of their theoretical knowledge within the four walls of the school when they embark on practical life after having been through school, they will soon turn to superficial practitioners. This is dangerous not only because a man's capacities are not placed wholly into the service of society but narrow practiciness is bound to turn a man into an individual with limited horizons liable to become a subjectivist. If we allow practiciness to thrive and belittle theory we will have given free play to subjectivism since practiciness is one of the mainsprings of subjectivism. And if we give free play to subjectivism it means that we give free play to idealism and revisionism since subjectivism is

an expression of idealism and one of the premises on which revisionist concepts thrive. Therefore, a man's education and application to learning all along and without interruption throughout his lifetime is of special importance.

In his March 7 speech on the further revolutionization of our school, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «...mental work is inseparable from practice». This means that mental work should be correctly interlaced with practice, that theory should be correctly interlaced with practice in our school system. Combining theory with practice and mental with manual work, beginning at school and continuing through one's life time, is an essential prerequisite to enriching theory with practice and to guiding practice by theory as well as to moderating the difference between mental and manual work which, in itself, is an essential prerequisite to the complete construction of socialist society. It is for this reason that we should see to it that, through schooling and other forms of education, the student and intellectual may form the concept that theory without practice turns into an end in itself, into a barren and groundless thing, that mental work without manual work, without direct work in production, forms the premise for alien, anti-socialist, snobbish concepts alienating the mental worker from the working class, from the laboring masses which is in itself the main-spring of many evils.

The new socialist man endowed with a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary world outlook should maintain a socialist stand towards manual work or direct work in production. «When we speak of a socialist attitude towards work», Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «what is of primary importance is to make a correct assessment of manual work, of work in production. This is a great matter of principle... Snobbish concepts about work in production are altogether alien to socialism and fraught with dangers at the same time. Any undervaluation or contempt of manual work should be condemned as an underevaluation of and contempt for workers and peasants, for the broad masses of people which leads to estrangement from the people, from their work and life and this estrangement is at the root of many evils... people engaged in science, art and culture should listen attentively and with deep respect to the opinion of the masses, they should sum up their experience, be always docile and humble students of the great and unerring teacher people».

Thus, the broad, Marxist-Leninist interpretation of learning, not only at the school benches but all along a man's lifetime, and the organization of the work of substantiating this concept in all its entirety, of linking the school to life, theory to practice as well as of linking practice with theory, mental work with manual work, manual with mental work, are essential prerequisites to the further revolutionization of our school, so that our school may be based on our socialist practice from which it should learn so that thought might then guide production and development; just as our practice in socialist construction should be nourished with Marxist-Leninist and professional theory in order that practice might be guided aright towards the development of socialist production and the development of the whole life of our country.

4. — Further revolutionization of our school marks the further perfection of the superstructure in order that it may better serve the structure of our society

Our country has already built its own socialist structure and superstructure. It is socialist relations in production, as the economic base of society, that determines the socialist nature of the structure or the socialist way of our production and superstructure. In their capacity as the material basis of structure the forces of production are the more dynamic element which changes more rapidly and on which depend the changes which are brought about in relations in production and superstructure.

The superstructure is a reflection of the structure, it should conform to and serve it. It is directly linked with relations in production and through these relations with the productive forces, with production. Therefore, every change in the level of development of the forces of production is reflected in the superstructure not all at once and directly but through relations in production after the changes that they have undergone. Such are the relations and mutual coordination between the structure and the superstructure. It is for this reason too that the rapid development of productive forces and perfecting of relations in production in our country are not reflected all at once on our superstructure, and during the advancement of our society several elements of the superstructure lag behind the structure. This

is an inevitable process. It is therefore up to the party of the working class and to the dictatorship of the proletariat to see to it that steps are taken not only to keep perfecting further socialist relations in production but also to keep perfecting further the superstructure or those of its elements who lag behind the development of the structure so that the superstructure may conform to the structure and serve to further develop it. This is precisely what we are doing by taking steps to further revolutionize our school.

Education, our schools, are component parts of our socialist superstructure. In that capacity they have served and serve as a weapon in the hands of the working class and of the dictatorship of the proletariat to impart to the younger generation, to our youth, proletarian ideology and scientific knowledge in order to prime and make them capable of taking as active a part as possible in the various fields of social activity keeping always in mind the actual and future development of our structure and superstructure.

When we say that it is essential to take a qualitative leap forward in our school we do it because it is obvious that under our actual conditions, our schools, as component parts of our superstructure do not fully comply with the new tasks for the ideological, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist uplift of our youth, tasks which aim at further consolidating socialist relations in production, of the socialist order as a whole, they do not fully comply also with the present and future needs of the rapid development of the forces of production, of the technical and scientific revolution in our country.

Although, in the final analysis, the superstructure is determined by the material structure of society, it is by no means a passive element; on the contrary it constitutes a major active force in social life. This active role of the superstructure becomes more telling and keeps growing particularly during the period of socialist revolution and of building socialist and communist society. Viewed from this angle, the further revolutionization of our school, as a component part of our socialist superstructure becomes ever more necessary and aims at not merely fitting in well with our school and education with our social structure, but also at playing a more active role in the development of our socialist society, at giving further and more efficient aid in spreading and implanting our Marxist-Leninist ideology, in forming a scientific world outlook, in tempering our younger generation as

revolutionaries, in further developing our productive forces and deepening our technical and scientific revolution.

Further and continuous revolutionization of our school is, therefore, an historic indispensability and permanent task within the general framework of our uninterrupted socialist revolution.

That is why Comrade Enver Hoxha advances the thesis that our school should «... follow and help the revolutionary development of our structure and superstructure. Guided by the Party, it should become an integral part of the latter, it should help production and develop thought and progress».

Hence the historic necessity of taking a big qualitative leap ahead in further revolutionizing our school.

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In order to enable our new school to be at the height of success in fulfilling the tasks of the day, in completing the building of socialist society under conditions of the geographical, imperialist and revisionist encirclement of our country, in serving the further development of the structure of our socialist society, as a component part of our superstructure, overcoming its relative backwardness towards the need of developing the productive forces of our economic basis, in turning itself into a main center of socialism where the new communist man of sound political and Marxist-Leninist theoretical world outlook can be kneaded and formed, endowed with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit of daring, creating and seeing things through as Comrade Enver Hoxha outlines in his March 7 speech — in order to attain these high objectives we should without fail take a new qualitative leap forward in our school.

In order to realize this new qualitative leap of our school through its further revolutionization, the platform of our Party Central Committee expressed in Comrade Enver Hoxha's March 7 speech has it that we should take a series of important structural, organizational, political, ideological, pedagogical, and educational measures in the whole of our educational system.

As pointed out right at the beginning, it is not a question of upsetting the whole of our educational and pedagogical system but rather of making a deep scientific analysis, under

the prism of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, of all the work done and results attained by our school so far making a right assessment of what is positive and taking that as a starting point for the further revolutionization of our school, detecting shortcomings, mistakes and gaps and outlining the forms, methods and concrete measures to surmounting them. In short, taking our clue from the positive results attained so far we should take all the necessary measures for a further development of our school.

But, in carrying out our tasks in this direction, we should not be content with doing superficial work, with taking half-baked measures, with working out programs without sound criteria, with formal graftings, we should not hurry in outlining steps but we should delve deeper and deeper in our work of analyzing taking our clue from the great theses of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech which demand an examination and re-examination of things under the prism of a materialist Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

«Do not resort to nihilist platforms or incorrect grafting lacking a sound criterion» is Comrade Enver Hoxha's warning.

The principal condition in all our work on this line is to make a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of what has been done and exists to this day in our school. «Everything existing in our new school should be subjected to a detailed Marxist-Leninist analysis. . . . This is the main condition» says Comrade Enver Hoxha. And we should by all means make this Marxist-Leninist analysis.

We shall take up and make a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of the results attained and of the actual problems of our school with all earnestness. This analysis will not be made in a bureaucratic way but by making full use of the line of the masses in this case too. Those taking active part in this analysis will not be a certain number of officials and «specialists» on matters of pedagogy alone but also all the teachers and pedagogues, students and school children, the whole Party, all the people. All this scientific analysis which will be made on the basis of the line of the masses will be guided by the Party. As in all matters of socialist construction and revolution so also in matters dealing with school, education and culture, the guidance of the Party is the 'sine qua non' factor to achieve success.

In re-examining all the work done in our schools and in mapping out the steps we will take in further developing our

school we should be guided by the great Marxist-Leninist principle of giving priority to politics in our school, of giving priority to ideology above technique, above every subject, above every thing. «To everybody, to students, teachers, pedagogues, to people, workers, peasants, to old and young, the Party should impart through all means and forms, first and foremost, Marxism-Leninism, the science which blazes the way to all sciences» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said.

On the further improvement of our educational system

Our present school system is made up of many kinds of schools. This has not been achieved in a spontaneous way but through great organized work guided by the directives and orientations of our Party.

But now, when all the objective and subjective conditions are ripe for a fresh leap forward in our school through its further revolutionization, it is required of us to make a thorough re-examination of the make-up and extension of our educational system with a critical eye and under the prism of Marxism-Leninism. Many discussions have been entered into on our educational system by a narrow circle of pedagogues. Out of these discussions they have reached a certain number of conclusions. But it must be stressed that these conclusions have not a sound basis, they have been reached at a narrow discussion of «specialists» and not at a popular mass discussion, they do not properly reflect the Marxist-Leninist world outlook on schools. Therefore in order to further improve our educational system, we should begin our analysis from the very beginning based on the theses of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech.

«Transition to a more advanced educational-cultural and technical-economic stage which will also bring about radical changes in schools» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «must always respond to the needs and serve the situations which the times and the moment require». This is the basic orientation of our Party as regards the further improvement of our educational system.

In designating the types of schools which should make up our educational system, we should start from the experience we have gained so far and from the present and future needs of our society for training cadres. Today we have our 8-grade schools, secondary schools and upper institutes of

learning. We shall continue to maintain all these three grades of education in the days to come as well. But we should exert greater efforts in further improving these three grades of our system of education.

In re-examining our educational system we should keep in mind especially two important orientations that are outlined in Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech.

First, that «Learning and education at school cannot be considered as the bourgeois philosophy considers them, a means of speculation and personal profit but as a powerful weapon, in the hands of the new men of our socialist society in order to build this society, to push our common socialist production ahead, to develop socialist culture for the good of society». This orientation gives rise to the conclusion that our school is not to turn out career-seekers, persons who run after personal interests, but new, genuine revolutionaries endowed with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, champions of the socialist way and capable of really serving society as servants of the people; it gives rise also to the conclusion that the vastness of our needs compels us to have many kinds and types of schools in our educational system.

The other important orientation that emerges from Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech is that «... As everything else our school too will undergo changes in form, structure and content from one stage to another. One thing alone will never change, namely, its backbone which will guide it in every direction and transformation — Marxist-Leninist philosophy —». Hence the conclusion that every change which will be proposed to be made in our educational system should be based on the idea that our Marxist-Leninist ideology should dominate in our school from the beginning to the end, from the first class of our primary school to the last class of our University or of other upper institutes of learning. If we lose sight of this principle, then our school will come short of turning out new revolutionaries but will turn out instead technocrats and career-seekers so dangerous to socialism. Therefore, in our school of whatever category and grade, proletarian politics should hold first place giving priority to the education of school youth with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and in all the three forms Comrade Enver Hoxha recommends.

The 8th-grade school has passed the test as a comprehensive school compulsory for all. The establishment of the 8th-grade school as a compulsory one for all the citizens of the

Republic is one of the major achievements of the educational policy of our Party and our People's Power. If the school of this category will undergo changes in the days to come, those changes will be especially towards extending the time limit of compulsory schooling. At present this would not be advisable since we have not yet succeeded in making 8th grade schooling obligatory for all. But with the development of our socialist society, while the over-all educational and cultural level of our people keeps rising, this would lead to extending compulsory schooling beyond the time limit we have at present. The question here is not that of changing the structure of this school but that of improving the program of studies and the substance of the 8th-grade school programs and texts.

On the basis of the 8th-grade school we should make a thorough study of the structure and content of the lower vocational schools where qualified workers are trained in an organized way and to the necessary level to comply with the needs of our country.

«Diversification of schools» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «is presented and will be presented to us especially in secondary education».

In order to determine with precision the various kinds and types of secondary schools we should, first and foremost, take into account the needs which our country has and will have in the future for cadres of middle-school training for the various sectors of economy, culture, public health, etc. as well as to train the necessary contingents for higher institutes of learning and qualified workers having no fear whatsoever of any «super-production» of cadres. But, in the final analysis, it is not only numbers alone which determine the structure of middle schools, the kinds and various types of such schools. In fixing aright the kinds and various types of secondary schools as well as their internal structure, we should also take into account the subject matter of the school, what the students will learn, what specialization they will follow in this or that type of school.

As a rule, the students who have been through a secondary school, regardless of whether this school was of this or that kind and type, should be eligible for admission to higher schools as far as school training is concerned no matter what kind or type of school it is where he received his secondary school education. Exceptions to this rule may be made in case we set up other types of secondary schools, different

and of a narrower scope from the regular schools we have today as far as their level is concerned. In that case we should apply the principle of «equivalences» as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out.

Should we keep intact the gymnasium as a secondary school of general education or should we transform it, should we keep it in the 12-grade school structure or should we separate the gymnasium from the 8th grade school, and if we have to make changes to the gymnasium both in structure and in subject matter, particularly, with regard to its polytechnization, then in what way should it change and how should we go about it; what deficiencies exist in the secondary vocational schools we have today and what improvements should be made on them, in their structure and subject matter; what proportions should be kept between the gymnasia and the secondary vocational schools with respect to their outlay; what other kinds of secondary schools should be maintained or set up anew? — these are some of the principal problems we should tackle in connection with our system of secondary education.

The system of higher education should also be looked into keeping in mind the needs of our country at present and in the future period of development for cadres of higher training of various profiles. We should see whether the internal structure of our higher education should undergo changes, what changes and in what directions.

One of the important matters connected with our educational system is also that of organizing schools for workers without a break in their jobs like evening schools, correspondence schools and various courses of study. We should delve deep in analyzing this problem taking our clue from Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech so that attendance of evening schools and of correspondence as well as of these courses of study without a break in work may be turned into a broad system of people's schools where people unable to attend the regular schools of our system of education beyond primary or 8th grade schools may be able to pursue their studies without a break in their jobs.

In this way, our society does not neglect those who have not been able to pursue their higher studies in our regular schools but creates facilities for them to forge ahead side by side with people who attend regular schools; we will attain this objective by setting up a whole system of schools

and courses of various types, categories and grades where people can pursue their studies without giving up their jobs. But in this we should always keep in mind the principles launched by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech on the «equivalence» of schools, so that schools and courses without a break in work may not be abused by indolent or career-seeking individuals.

While analyzing our educational system and defining steps to improve it further, we should, at the same time, examine also the steps which should be taken to further specialize cadres who pass through secondary or higher institutes of learning.

So far we have done relatively little about further specialization or qualification of our engineers or agronomists, of our physicians or economists, of those who graduate from the University and other higher institutes of learning, or those who graduate from secondary vocational schools. This is an important problem to which we should devote special attention. We should see to it and see to it without fail that opportunities for continuous qualification are provided for cadres of higher or middle school training either with or without a break in their jobs. The ways and forms to attain this objective should be worked out by the analysis which we should make and through popular discussions which will be conducted on this subject.

While analyzing the changes that should be made to our educational system we can also take up the question of the duration of the period of teaching in the various types of schools, whether the duration of the teaching period in schools as it is today is adequate or not and, in case of needing a change, what concrete changes should be made.

Accurate rules should be set based on class criteria with regard to eligibility for enrollment in secondary and high schools particularly in awarding state scholarships. In no case should state scholarships be awarded to sons and daughters of the enemies of the people, of those condemned by our courts of justice for anti-State and anti-socialist activity, to children of kulaks and the bourgeoisie. We, as a State, are obliged to give them education in compulsory schools for all and, at most, in secondary schools of general education but not on a State scholarship; we are duty bound to educate and re-educate them but this education and re-education of them should be done entirely in work in production and not to

create highly trained cadres of bad social background as has happened so far in certain cases.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu then spoke on further improving the school programs in which priority should be given to Marxist-Leninist subjects and theory, he spoke on the further improvement of school texts, of teaching methods and on the need to further improve the education given out of school. In winding up his discussion he spoke, on organizing the work of taking tangible steps to carry out the tasks of further revolutionizing our schools.

Now that we have a clear idea of our tasks to further revolutionize our school, what is of major importance is to organize the work of carrying out these tasks.

Further revolutionization of our schools is a very great and very complicated ideological and scientific, pedagogical and organizational task. The first thing to do is to look for the right method to carry out this major task. The right method, the Party teaches us, is to apply the line of the masses in this matter too.

Abiding always and firmly by the line of the masses, our Party has made it its habit to consult with the masses before taking any important decision. Therefore, in order to solve the problem of the further revolutionization of our schools properly, the Central Committee of the Party considers it necessary to organize a **PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF OUR SCHOOLS.**

The question then is how to organize a public discussion on the further revolutionization of our schools.

Firstly, by making a thorough study of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech delivered at the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee. If we fail to make a thorough study of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech in order to get a good grasp of and delve deep into all the theses contained in that speech then we will not be able to find our bearings on what we should discuss and how we should go about it. Therefore, before organizing a broad public discussion of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech it should be taken up and studied by all Party organs and organizations, by all State, economic and social organs and organizations, by all schools (teachers and pupils, pedagogues and students together) and by every educational and cultural institutions.

Secondly, having made a thorough study of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech, by organizing public discussions on

a wide scale and in an organized way. Public discussions on the further revolutionization of our schools will be conducted at every school without exception (at primary, 8th grade, secondary and higher schools) of every category and profile, at all educational and cultural institutions. Taking part in these public discussions on the further revolutionization of schools will be:

a) the whole teaching staff of all the schools;

b) all the students of mature age (at least from the IXth and higher classes) as well as all the undergraduates of higher schools;

c) the people's intelligentsia, including cadres of medium and higher training who are employed in production or elsewhere;

d) the working masses, primarily, the working class;

e) the parents of students and undergraduates who desire to take part in the discussions.

Discussions may and should be conducted also in other centers, for instance, in each Ministry, in large centers of production, etc., where various broad consultations can be organized where cadres of various levels and workers can exchange views especially on the problem of training cadres in lower and secondary vocational schools as well as in higher professional schools and on the basis of these consultations to propose to the Central Commission and to the Ministry of Education and Culture how, in what direction and to what extent the school programs should be improved upon in order to train these cadres as well as possible, so that they may respond to the requirements of production from the point of view of professional skill. In the same way they can exchange views on the problem of the further qualification of these cadres and advance concrete proposals or discuss the problem of schools and courses which we should set up for workers without a break in their jobs.

Participation at these discussions is of course on a voluntary basis but the Party Central Committee calls for as wide a participation in this great public discussion as possible, first and foremost, of those who are directly connected with matters of education and culture including students and undergraduates. As a rule, discussions should be conducted after work hours so as not to obstruct work, teaching, production and services.

Thirdly, by taking up and making a deep analysis, in line with the theses of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech and the criteria I just explained of the following principal topics:

- a) the programs of each individual class or school;
- b) the texts of each class or school separately;
- c) the problem of combining teaching with life, theory with practice as well as the problem of the further polytechnization of our schools;

- d) the structural organization of each school and of the educational system as a whole;

- e) the pedagogical method and style of teaching in use at each school and in each class as well as the problem of the ideological education and qualification of educational cadres.

These are the main topics to be taken up at public discussions. This does not exclude taking up other topics at these public discussions provided they are conducive to the further revolutionization of our schools. Such are, for instance, education in the family, the marking system, the question as to how a pupil should address a teacher or a student a professor or pedagogue, the age of beginners at school and so on.

Full freedom of thought is exercised at these public discussions, problems are fully debated on, deep analyses are made, principled criticisms are pronounced on topics under discussion until conclusions are drawn. It is not a question of confining the discussions conducted at a school to the texts of that school alone and not extend it to the texts of any other, lower or higher school of another profile. But the principal thing is to discuss matters pertaining to the school where the discussion is conducted.

Care should be taken not to enter into a formal discussion, just to say a couple of words that «we agree with Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech, or with the line of the Party», and so on. Discussions should be to the point and well thought out. For instance, when a given text is under discussion a deep analysis should be made of the substance of this text from the beginning to the end based on the orientations given in Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech, revealing the deficiencies and omissions or exaggerations, arguing on them concretely and from a principled point of view and then advance concrete proposals pointing out the way these deficiencies and mistakes should be corrected by either discarding the exaggerations or filling up the gaps in the texts. This is the way all problems are approached.

Thus, the discussions are not wound up at a single session but continue for as long a time as necessary to draw a conclusion. Discussions are begun, are postponed for lack of time or for other assignments continue again at some other time until conclusions are reached. And the discussions are considered wound up only when the questions under discussion, like, say, texts, programs, and so on, are thoroughly examined. We are unable at present to say when the public discussion of the further revolutionization of our schools should end in general. These discussions will continue during the whole of this year, but they may continue for a longer period if necessary, until all the problems under discussion are thoroughly examined. The important thing is that these discussions should be well organized and prepared for, that they should be conducted at the necessary level in order to lead to the solution of the problems of the further revolutionization of our schools.

Fourthly, by having the conclusions arrived at and proposals advanced by the public discussions finally drawn up by the persons presiding at or any individual taking part in the discussions, if he or she wishes and presented to the Commission set up at the District Party Committee to organize and direct the public discussions in the district. After having studied and systematized these conclusions and proposals, the District Commission adjoins its own remarks and forwards them to the Central Commission for Education at the Party Central Committee and to the Ministry of Education and Culture. This final document contains all the proposals of the grass-root without exception be they even contradictory. But one should not wait until the campaign of public discussions is over and then send the proposals and remarks from the district to the center. They are sent continually while the public discussions are being conducted. Whereas, when the discussions on a district level are over then the District Commission draws up its final conclusions and proposals.

Fifthly, the Central Commission at the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Education and Culture follow up these public discussions from stage to stage. The same thing is done by the working groups and dependent organisms. The Ministry of Education and Culture keeps its working groups informed of the conclusions, remarks and proposals forwarded to it by the districts at the same time that they are forwarded to the Central Commission, so that these

working groups may examine and revise the corresponding school texts. Whenever it sees fit, the Ministry of Education and Culture makes suggestions to the Central Commission and solicits its approval for action.

The sub-commissions and working groups of the Central Commission follow attentively the public discussions, examine all suggestions and proposals from the grass roots and prepare the corresponding materials for the Central Commission. In taking steps towards the further revolutionization of our schools, the Central Commission is guided by the directives of the Party Central Committee. Whereas, the Commissions which are set up at the District Party Committees (one such Commission in each district) are charged with the task of organizing and guiding the public discussions on the further revolutionization of schools on a district level under the supervision of the District Party Committee and proceed in the way just mentioned.

The District Commissions are made up of the most capable people endowed with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook approved by the District Party Committee. In the same way, the people who make up the working groups of the Ministry of Education and Culture should be selected ones capable and endowed with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, their candidature for participation being approved by the Party Committees, although these working groups are dependencies of the Ministry of Education and Culture and are not dependencies of the Commission at the District Party Committee for their concrete jobs but only collaborate closely with it.

All persons charged with the tasks just mentioned, from those who make up the Central Commission and its organisms, those of the District Commissions and those of the working groups of the Ministry of Education and Culture should carry out these supplementary tasks assigned to them with a break from the usual obligations of their functions. But the persons making up the work groups who will have to do a great deal of creative work of major responsibility should be released somewhat of the tasks of their ordinary function, particularly, during the more intensive periods of their job by not holding them in their offices or other functions which cover a full 8-hour day but less, or release them from their ordinary jobs for a number of days or weeks in succession so that they may carry out the supplementary tasks assigned to them.

While public discussions are being conducted our press

organs, central and local, should follow them up carefully and give adequate space to their developments; anyone may write articles for our press expressing opinions, proposals and remarks on all the themes under discussion even if these opinions and proposals are contradictory provided they are not at variance with the general line of our Party. Whereas, the editors, especially those of the central press and the principal leading cadres of the Party and the Government should be careful and not take a clear-cut attitude towards the concrete questions under discussion at these public discussions in order not to smother the initiative of the masses to express their opinions freely. The principal cadres also express their views but at the proper place and time, generally after the public discussions have been wound up.

This is in concrete terms the form and organization which we think advisable in taking steps towards the further revolutionization of our schools. Experience itself will teach us whether we should resort to other more suitable forms.

But we emphasize once again that the essential condition to get on with the job and score success in accomplishing the major tasks to further revolutionize our schools is the leadership of the District Party Committees as well as that of the State organs concerned; they should firmly take into their hands the matter of the further revolutionization of our schools.

It is absolutely necessary that persons who will be charged with examining and editing a text book, with analyzing the program of any class in a critical way or with dealing with any other problem of education and schools should be politically and ideologically enlightened and endowed with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook. And the study of Marxist-Leninist theory is unending, the more you study it the wider becomes your horizon and the more solid your Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

It is for this reason that the Party Central Committee deems it necessary to call on all the members of the Central Commission as well as on all persons who make up its sub-commissions and working groups, on all the functionaries of the apparatus of the Ministry of Education and Culture, on all the members of the district commissions and, in general, on all cadres of education and culture who will be engaged in the work of further revolutionizing our schools, to delve deeper into the study of Marxist-Leninist theory themselves so as to be able to accomplish their task of further revolutionization.

of our schools. This study should be conducted in an organized way, individually or collectively or in any other form and in the main on selected themes appropriate to the concrete task assigned to each. Dialectic and historical materialism and political economy should occupy first place in these studies.

Comrades,

We are setting to work on further revolutionizing our schools at a time when socialist education and culture in countries where the revisionists have come to power have long been buried and have been replaced with revisionist and bourgeois education and culture. Look at what is happening today in Czechoslovakia and in Poland. The school youth in these two countries are in the forefront of the counter-revolution with ultra-reactionary intellectuals in the lead. They are launching a counter-revolution within a revisionist counter-revolution. You see what comes out of the revisionist line, out of the ideological education of youth and intellectuals with revisionist and bourgeois ideology! This is happening in all countries where the revisionists have come to power.

But what is happening in countries where the revisionists have come to power confirms a hundredfold what our Party has been saying all along, namely, that the revisionist line leads to capitalism. Our Party has long foreseen what is happening today in Czechoslovakia and in Poland and what has happened to this day in all revisionist countries.

Our Party has always kept the conscience of youth stainless, it has taken as good care of them as a mother of her child, it has nurtured them with Marxist-Leninist ideology and has turned them into heroic revolutionary youth, champions of the cause of socialism, ever ready to lay down even their young lives if the need arises, for the general line of our Party, for socialism and communism, for our people, for our Fatherland. Our Party has carefully endowed our people's intelligentsia, who are a powerful lever in the hands of the Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with a Marxist-Leninist awareness and world outlook, determined to carry the ideological, educational and cultural revolution and the technical and scientific revolution always ahead along the road blazed by the immortal teachings of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism as well as by the teachings of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

ON STEPPING UP AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND DEVELOPING THE COOPERATIVE COUNTRY- SIDE ALL ROUND

— Excerpts from a report submitted by Member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and Minister of Agriculture Comrade Piro Dodbiba at the 5th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives held in Tirana on March 15, 16 & 17 this year.

Dear Comrades!

Six full years have elapsed since the last Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives met. The period that divides us from that Congress has been one of uninterrupted struggle for the political, ideological and economic growth and consolidation of the cooperative order.

During this period, the cooperative peasantry, led by our Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the helm, have given a living proof of their political awareness, revolutionary spirit, fiery patriotism, great creative talent and capability, determination and loyalty to the cause of socialism and to the defense of our homeland.

Our cooperative members come to their 5th Congress with heads up, with a rich balance sheet of victories to their credit, with a new experience in fighting and working to the end of fulfilling the great and noble assignments of carrying the revolution further and further ahead in order to complete the establishment of socialist society.

1. — THE COOPERATIVE ORDER AT A NEW STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

The great enthusiasm and the all-round creative efforts of the peasantry to materialize the decisions of the 5th Congress of the Party have brought about new qualitative changes in the economic and social status of our countryside.

Within record time, in less than three months and responding to the call of the Party, we have successfully completed collectivization in the mountain regions of our country in a highly revolutionary spirit. Thus, those peasants who had not yet joined in cooperatives crossed over from small-scale production and private property to the broad and enlightened road of social ownership and socialist development. As a result, the collectivisation of agriculture was brought to completion, and, today, there isn't a single village in our country which has not been collectivised. Today the agricultural cooperatives engulf 99 percent of the land surface owned by the peasantry (as against 86 percent in the previous Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives), whereas the number of collectivised families for the same period rose from 71 to 98 per cent.

This is a new and great victory of the Party line for the socialist transformation of agriculture, which opens up brilliant prospects for the life, progress and prosperity of our mountain regions, for strengthening agriculture as well as our socialist economy as a whole. The complete collectivisation of all the rural areas of the country was a natural consequence of the conviction and profound faith the peasants nourish for the line of our Party, for its leadership and its lessons leading to prosperity and plenty, of the faith that our working and patriotic peasants have in the superiority of the cooperative order.

At the present stage of development of the cooperative order, its most striking and important traits are the high morale of the cooperative members, the revolutionisation of their consciousness and world outlook, their fighting spirit and devotion, their unprecedented mobilization for and zeal at work.

The lofty revolutionary spirit and consciousness that permeates today the whole life of the countryside have engendered such new phenomena of great ideological and social importance as: the reduction of the personal plots of land, the help offered by the agricultural cooperatives of the lowlands to the agricultural cooperatives in the mountain regions, the transition to collective norms of work; the increase of the collective herd of oxen and beasts of burden with the number offered by the members of the cooperatives, the voluntary refusal to receive pay for the collectivised livestock, the promise to realise the plan for the opening of virgin land,

for the increase of the number of cows, the promise for a quick increase of the yield of cereals and other agricultural products, etc.

As a result of the rise of their well-being and of their socialist consciousness to place common above personal interests, the cooperative members reduced their private plots of land of their own free will. This was an unparalleled initiative of major principled ideological and economic significance. It demonstrated, in a revolutionary manner, the stand the cooperative members maintain towards common and personal property, towards common and personal interests, by strengthening still further the sense of common ownership and common interest as against personal ownership and personal interest.

The acquisition of the Marxist-Leninist ideology by the cooperative masses gave birth to the revolutionary movement which inspired the agricultural cooperatives of the lowlands to come to the assistance of the agricultural cooperatives in the remote mountain zones. This revolutionary movement was a new expression of the socialist solidarity of the cooperative members and of the working masses on a national scale that demonstrated in life, in a concrete manner, that the cooperatives wherever they may chance to be, in the plains or up in the mountains, in the south or in the north of the country, imbued with the lessons of the Party, think, fight and feel as a single body, one for all and all for one. It widened considerably the confines of collective ownership in the world outlook of the cooperative members, showed them that the progress and well-being of every cooperative group cannot and should not be attained apart from the progress and welfare of socialist agriculture as a whole, of all the agricultural cooperatives of the land, both in the plains and in the mountains. This initiative was a sublimation, on a new revolutionary path, of the economic and social relations between the different groups of the cooperative peasantry.

The intensification of the process of revolutionary transformation of the consciousness of the cooperative members, accompanied by the strengthening of the material and technical basis of agriculture, has given a new impetus to the development of the productive forces in agriculture, to the increase of agricultural production at a more accelerated rate and to the improvement of the economic situation in the countryside. The 26 percent increase in agricultural

production in 1967 in comparison with the year 1965 is, first and above all, a direct consequence and crystallization of the great revolutionary impetus that has engulfed the peasantry and our entire people, a consequence of their determination to accelerate the pace of their march forward.

The same may be said of the overfulfilment of the plan for opening up virgin lands. During the years 1966-1967 the cooperative members accomplished a great and heroic job by reclaiming 36,000 hectares of new lands, equivalent to the surface of the lands opened during the last five-year period as a whole. Throughout all the districts and provinces, in all the agricultural cooperatives, people are fighting today with revolutionary courage for the fulfilment ahead of schedule and for the overfulfilment of the plan of opening up virgin lands. This is an important step forward towards the fulfilment with honour of the tasks laid down by the 5th Congress of our Party to make the hills and mountains as productive as the plains.

The agricultural cooperatives, having, among others, the all-round and generous help of the State, have been increasing every year their earnings. Upon these foundations the cooperative members have raised their well-being and their social and cultural level has marked great progress. An eloquent proof of this is the increase of the yearly income per person of the cooperative members from the common economy. Thus, in the year 1967, this income was 26 percent higher than in the year 1962.

The evident qualitative changes that have been achieved in the revolutionization of life in the countryside and in the increase of the productive forces, go to prove the correctness of the policy of our Party for the development of agriculture. They go to prove the importance and universal value of the lessons of Lenin in connection with cooperation as the only correct way to build up socialism in the countryside.

The correct solution of the agrarian problem and the building up of socialism in the countryside have been considered by our Party as primary political and social problems, as problems of the world outlook of our peasants and of imbuing them with the new socialist ideology, with new principles of collective life and work.

In order to attain this, our Party had the firm conviction that the work had to be begun with the change of the economic foundations in the countryside, by doing away

with private property, which gives birth, every hour, every minute, spontaneously and in ever growing proportions, to capitalism, which serves as a basis for the spread of bourgeois ideology.

Collectivisation created new social and economic premises for the transformation of the consciousness of the cooperative members, for educating them with the socialist ideology, for strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, under the guidance of the working class.

With the institution of common ownership, it became possible to organise common work, distribution of products according to the work done, combination of personal with collective interests, of collective interests with those of society, giving always priority to the interests of society and of the collective.

In setting up of the cooperatives, our Party has always adhered to the principle that the management and development of agriculture should be conducted in a centralised, democratic manner, on the basis of a single general state plan, that agriculture should be developed by applying an agricultural technique as much advanced as possible, that between agriculture and industry, as well as within the different branches of agriculture there should be established a correct and harmonious cooperation with the purpose of ensuring a rapid development of the people's economy as a whole and a systematic improvement of the well-being of the people.

Finally, the collectivisation of agriculture created the most favorable conditions for the Party and the State to give the peasants an organised and all-round help, to promote their political and cultural education, to speed up the development of agriculture in the desired direction, by concentrating the forces, first and foremost, where availabilities are greatest and effects are more telling in favor of the people's economy as a whole.

This wholly correct Marxist-Leninist line, followed faithfully and in a consistent manner by our Party, has brought about that wonderful ideological and spiritual situation in the countryside, has opened up those brilliant prospects for the development of our agriculture, which our cooperative peasants and our people as a whole are justified in being proud of.

In the agriculture of the Soviet Union and that of the countries ruled by the revisionist cliques, one witnesses a

wide political, ideological and economic degeneration. There, they are marching with big strides towards the full re-establishment of capitalism and capitalist relations in rural as well as urban areas, so that the position and the rule of the new bourgeoisie, who have usurped political power, may be consolidated in the economic sphere as well. The degeneration of the superstructure has flung the gates wide open to the degeneration of the basis, to its transformation from a socialist into a capitalist basis.

After betraying the Leninist lessons about the building of socialism in the countryside, the Soviet revisionists and those of the other countries are doing their uttermost to create in agriculture such economic and social conditions as would legalize the capitalist laws of development. In pursuit of this aim they have given up the idea of a planned development of agriculture by placing at the foundation of its development the principle of profit, the material interest, competition and the spontaneousness of the free market. The differentiation of the peasantry into exploited and exploiters is proceeding at an accelerated pace.

Following that road, the revisionists have created and are rapidly creating in rural areas a privileged strata of people, degenerated politically and ideologically, who represent the new bourgeoisie on whom the governing revisionist cliques lean for support. Through the latter, the revisionists do their utmost, by all the means at their disposal, to poison the thoughts of the working peasants with the capitalist ideology and morals, with the sense of individualism and egoism, of enrichment at the expense of others, with placing material interest above everything and above all.

Such is the ideological and social result of the revisionist course in agriculture, of the course of these declared traitors to Marxism-Leninism, not to mention the great difficulties that they come up against in developing the productive forces in their rural areas.

Our successes and conquests in the socialist development of agriculture are immense. The turn that our agriculture has begun to make on the road to its intensive development is plainly seen. But our Party teaches us and demands from us that we should always look and march forward. The uninterrupted development of the revolution and the complete building of socialism impose on us new and ever increasing tasks. We must fight for new and greater

prospects, because we have at our disposal all the necessary political, ideological and material conditions for setting up the problem of the construction of socialism upon a new and higher stage.

II

THE REVOLUTIONISATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AT A MORE RAPID PACE — A VERY IMPORTANT TASK OF THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

In order to realise the big objectives of the new historic stage of the complete construction of socialist society in towns as well as in rural areas, as our Party teaches us, it becomes our imperative duty today to deepen further the technical and scientific revolution, with which are directly interlaced the further and speedier intensification and revolutionisation of agricultural production. That is why at the 5th Congress of our Party, and in a special way, in his programmatic speech «On Cooperation and the Technical and scientific Revolution» delivered at the third plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania in October 1967, Comrade Enver Hoxha, guided by the lessons of Marxism-Leninism, summed up and elaborated in a creative manner the experience of our country in the field of cooperation and technical and scientific revolution, clarified the most important premises and the orientation along which they are being developed in our country. These lessons are of very great theoretical and practical value to our socialist agriculture.

1. The Further Intensification of Agriculture Is the Road towards the Revolutionization of Agricultural Production

Under the continuous concern of the Party and the People's Government in our socialist agriculture we have witnessed the creation of a powerful material and technical basis, which is being further strengthened with each passing day. In this direction the fraternal Chinese people, with

Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the helm have given and are giving a great internationalist assistance. Over 9000 tractors reckoned at 15 HP are at work in our agriculture today, 7,000 of which in the service of agricultural cooperatives. The building of irrigation and drainage projects has assumed extensive proportions, and we can say that in the principal plain lands of the country these works are near completion, whereas in the mountain and hilly zones these are constantly being expanded. Our modern industry is today in a position to furnish agriculture with chemical fertilizers, with an increasing number of agricultural equipment and machines, with fuel and building materials. The complete electrification of the rural areas is becoming an important factor, too. The historical decision of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, envisaging the completion of the electrification of our rural areas by the 8th of November 1971, the jubilee year of the 30th anniversary of the founding of our beloved Party, opens up new and greater prospects in this direction.

In the year 1967, the working peasantry fulfilled with success the State plan and reached the highest level ever in the all-round agricultural production for the second year in succession. In comparison with the year 1965, the production of food cereals increased by 47 per cent, of potatoes — 4 fold, of sugar beets — 84 per cent, of sunflower — 113 percent, etc.

Our Party teaches us not to be content with the results attained, but to look always ahead, towards new objectives, towards new and greater tasks. In the first place, we should consolidate the great victories attained by the agricultural cooperatives in the fulfilment of the tasks of the first two years of the 4th Five-year Plan, especially in food grains, which constitute the main and most important duty of our agriculture; secondly, to make our agriculture as independent as possible from the vagaries of the climate, by applying a strict scientific discipline in the study and application of the laws of nature; thirdly, we should take measures to the end of raising the level of our agriculture to the level of the most advanced economies, by applying massive scientific experimentation, as well as by summing up and spreading in an organised manner the advanced experience of the foremost economies, brigades and companies, and, finally, we should put into practice the instructions of the 5th Congress of our Party in the sense that, through the intensification and the rapid

increase of the production of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock, we may attain an impressive increase in agricultural and dairy produce.

a — The Cooperative Peasantry — a Moving Force for the Revolutionisation of Agricultural Production

At variance with the development of the scientific and technical revolution in the capitalist countries, our scientific and technical revolution pursues diametrically opposed purposes both from the ideological as well as from the social and economic point of view.

Our socialist society is interested not only in the development of the productive forces and scientific and technical progress in general but in a development that would lead to the further strengthening of the socialist order and to insuring the complete and final victory of that order, both in urban and rural areas. That means that our technical and scientific revolution is directed by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and has as its main aim the application in life of the general line of the Party for the edification of socialism and communism, for the consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, to the purpose of narrowing down the gap between industry and agriculture, between the working class and the cooperative peasantry, between manual and mental work.

For this purpose, it is necessary to strengthen our belief in the capabilities of our cooperative farmers and to exploit the great possibilities that the cooperative order creates for a greater and more active participation of all the cooperative peasants in the development of their common economy.

Numerous are the initiatives that our cooperative peasants have taken and are applying with an unprecedented revolutionary zeal in order to put into practice the tasks that the 5th Congress of our Party has laid before them. Such is the initiative of the cooperative members of Vrith in the district of Shkodra for the transformation of the stone-covered surfaces into fertile land and for protecting them from erosion. We should not leave unmentioned the courageous initiative of the cooperative members of Breg in the district of Puka, who, in spite of the fact that they had only 78 persons fit for work,

projected and built with revolutionary zeal and rare craftsmanship, within a period of three months, the 7 km long Fushë-Arrëz-Breg irrigation canal along a very rough and rocky terrain, thus turning into reality their ages-long dreams unrealizable during the past regimes. A magnificent example of socialist solidarity is that of 16 agricultural cooperatives in the district of Durrës, who rose as a single body in order to help the agricultural cooperative of Sulova and took upon, themselves, with audacity, the task of building its irrigation canal over a very difficult terrain. The same must be said of the agricultural cooperative of Qilna and the neighbouring cooperatives, where the «300 eagles of the river Seta», as the people named them, with persistent work, day and night, dug a 900 meter long tunnel and 3 km long canal through a steep and rocky surface, over which even pedestrians could previously pass only with difficulty.

Such is the heroic stand, the exemplary gesture full of abnegation by the girl communist Shkurte Pal Vata, by the young man Fuat Çela, by the shepherd Lezan Pisli and by many others, who by their exemplary attitude towards work have become a great source of inspiration for the labouring cooperative peasants and for all the working people of our country. Their initiative and lofty example at work were very soon followed by other grand, daring and revolutionary initiatives, such as the mass movement of the members of many cooperatives, including those of Tepelena, Skrapar, Dukagjin, Kelmend, Orosh, etc. to clamber mountain slopes in order to transform them into arable land, to bring about a rapid increase of production of food grains, to increase the number of cows, etc.

The technical and scientific sessions that were organised in different districts and in numerous agricultural cooperatives and which were generally characterized by a high level of efficiency, went to prove that our cooperative farmers are in a position to indulge in scientific research of great practical value, to experiment and to give a valuable help for a better knowledge of the laws of nature, of biology, of the cultivation of plants and of raising animals and to make a more profitable use of these laws and of the experience gained for the rapid increase of output. This massive activation of the cooperative peasants brought in its wake the daring and revolutionary pledges by all the districts and economies of the country as well as the efforts that are being conducted on a wide scale

in order to produce, beginning with the current year, 30 quintals of wheat per hectare from 1/3 rd of the sown surface and about 40 quintals of corn per hectare from 1/4 th of the sown surface. Daring promises have been given in the other indices of the plan for agricultural and dairy production, like the increase of output of potatoes, rice, milk, etc.

The intensification of agriculture demands the institution of strict scientific discipline in agricultural production with the purpose of discovering and making a conscientious use of the laws of nature, by raising the educational and technical and professional level of the cooperative peasants, thus binding as tight as possible theory with practice. To this end Comrade Enver Hoxha said among other things, at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania: «The Technical and Scientific Revolution demands a general mobilization, a special attention and care to be given to the study of theory and practice, which are closely connected with and never apart from each other». Scientific discipline in production demands, in the first place, to bring home to cooperative members the need for an accurate application of all the rules of the code of agricultural technique, which we should delve deep into because without rigorously applying this discipline in production, we cannot master the laws of nature and use them successfully to increase agricultural production.

Putting these lessons into practice necessitates the rigorous application of the principle «to work while learning and to learn while working», with the purpose that school and life, learning and production should be tightly interlaced, as Comrade Enver Hoxha presented the matter in his speech of the 7th of March 1968. Considering that the technical and scientific revolution is carried out by the masses and not only by a few men of learning, the discovery of the secrets of nature and their use in favour of production demand that the broad working masses should attend the various schools of general education and those of a technical and professional character. During the year 1967-1968 alone over 1,500 courses of agricultural and technical character and more than 350 lower schools were set up and attended by thousands of workers.

b. Raising the Economic, Social and Cultural Level of the Agricultural Cooperatives in the Mountain and Hilly Regions at an Accelerated Rate

With the complete and definitive collectivisation of agriculture, which took place in the mountain regions in line with the tasks laid down by the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, the peasantry of those zones took the first great qualitative and historically important stride towards the transition from the individual chopped up economy, that for centuries at an end had kept them in a state of privation and misery, to a collective economy of the socialist type.

Marching on this road and in the spirit of the Joint Statement the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the 29th of April 1967 and with a view to coming to the aid of the mountain region cooperatives just set up, the Central Committee and the Government have taken and are taking a whole series of important measures.

Help in bank credits free of interest, coupled with investments for the increase of the irrigation capacity, is being extended and will be extended in the future to the cooperatives of the mountainous and hilly zones. A big help is being given by the Machine and Tractor Stations which are being set up in the mountain regions. A whole series of favouring measures, like exemption from income tax using their proceeds for the consolidation of the material and technical basis of the cooperatives, abolition of the tax on private plots, annulment of the tax on potatoes in all the cooperatives that enjoy exemption from the obligatory handing over of cereals as well as a large number of measures for the supply of chemical fertilisers, selected seeds and others have been taken.

Talking about the great importance of the revolutionary initiative of the cooperative members of Tragjas, in the district of Vlora, and of those of Golem, in the district of Lushnja, which was supported by quite a number of agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, Comrade Piro Dodbiba continued;

The help extended to the mountain regions has made a very great and indelible impression on the consciousness of the new cooperative members who, appreciating highly this initiative, have promised the Party and the Government that

they will muster all their forces for the rapid development of their common economy. And from words they passed on to deeds: they reduced the number of livestock in their personal stables, thus increasing the number in their common herds, they gave up the instalments the cooperative owed them for the collectivised livestock and increased their participation at work.

In order to carry this revolutionary initiative to its final conclusion, the State organs and the cooperatives themselves are faced with the great task of 'taking urgent measure to provide feed and shelter for livestock, to train the cooperative members who will engage in raising the livestock offered as a gift, etc.

In the framework of the accelerated development of the mountain regions, with a view to establishing closer links with the cooperatives of the plain, strengthening the brotherly ties among all our cooperative peasants and carrying ahead the revolutionary drive that has spread to four corners of our Homeland, it is of great importance to exchange groups between the mountains and plains, between the North and the South, and the other way round.

This new movement initiated of late should be supported and developed with all the means available, because it will conduce to the exchange of experience, and people will profit from one another not only in the sphere of the development of agriculture, but the mountaineers of the North will come to know the South, they will see how their brothers live and think on many problems of life and will begin to think very differently about many things. On their part, the ones from the South too, by going to the mountains, will profit from the good folkways and from the experience of those regions.

In general the new mountain region cooperatives concluded the first year of their life in the socialist family with quite good results. It suffices to mention that the agricultural cooperatives of the Mat, Librazhd and Kukës last year received about 40 per cent more corn and over 35 per cent more wheat per hectare than in the year 1965. As a result of the increase of the production of food grains, quite a number of the new agricultural cooperatives provided all the food grains they needed for the year, a thing that they had never succeeded in doing under the conditions of individual economy, whereas the rest lightened considerably the burden of the State in providing with cereals.

In spite of the successes attained, we should always bear in mind the instructions of our Party and the lessons of Comrade Enver Hoxha who, in the Report delivered at the 5th Congress of the Party, emphasised that: «Our Party and Government should take up and think over the way of developing agriculture in the mountain regions attentively and in an organised manner. In this respect they should conduct persistent work, not contenting themselves with little and not displaying enthusiasm for successes attained too soon, because in this grandiose enterprise, without precedent in the history of our country, we are bound to encounter difficulties too, which we must surmount with confidence».

All the mountain region cooperatives have great possibilities for the development of agriculture and all its branches as well as for a rapid social, cultural, etc., development. But in order to carry out the socialist transformation of the mountain regions, the latter should be given an allround and special help by all the organs of the State and of the youth organisations of the center and the provinces.

2. Let us Concentrate all our Efforts on a Rapid Increase of Agricultural and Livestock Production and, First and Foremost, of Food Grains.

The most important and primary task facing our agriculture during the current Five-year Plan is the rapid increase of production of food grains and potatoes. The realization of this task is of decisive importance, because it will not only solve the food problem, but it will serve also as a powerful means to give a new impetus to the development of all the other branches of agriculture and will relieve the people's economy in the whole from the quite considerable expenses of importing cereals.

Understanding the political and economic importance of this task, the agricultural cooperatives, during the past two years, have made great strides ahead in the increase of output of food grains and other agricultural and dairy products. In the year 1967, in comparison with the year 1965, the output of wheat rose by 20 percent, whereas that of corn by 57 percent. A similar satisfactory increase in output has increased the number of cooperatives that produce all the amount of cereals they need

In spite of this, we still have much to do in order to perform as we should our duty, for which the 5th Congress of our Party made a special appeal. Here we are not concerned solely with the fact that there are still cooperatives that do not produce all the amount of broad cereals they need. This is of very great importance, and beginning with this very year we should at all costs fulfil the pledge, that not a single cooperative should remain without producing enough to meet its own needs for food grains. But there are different manners in which these needs are fulfilled. We need such a fulfilment of this task as to enable the cooperatives not only to provide for all the needs of their members in the years of plenty, but to produce constantly enough cereals irrespective of the freaks of the weather.

The other aspect of the problem consists in that every cooperative, after having fulfilled in a constant manner its own needs for cereals, may sell surplusses to the State at an always increasing rate, again irrespective of the caprices of the weather. In this respect, our weaknesses are still very considerable and, what is more, not only in the mountain regions, but even in the plains as well.

In these circumstances, all the cooperatives of the country are faced with extraordinarily big and important tasks in connection with the increase of yields. We should make big strides especially in the cooperatives of the plains in order to pass over to high yields and in no way confine ourselves to the results obtained so far, which, although considerable, do not correspond to our availabilities.

According to the instructions approved by the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, 82 percent of the increase in the production of cereals will be obtained as a result of an increase in yields and only 18 per cent as a result of the increase of areas tilled; the increase in the production of sunflower will be attained 62 per cent from the increase of yields, whereas the entire increase in the output of tobacco, of cotton and of sugar beet must come as a result of the increase in yields. In this manner our agriculture will embark on the road to modernization and to its all-round progress.

As may be plainly seen, the main road for the rapid increase of agricultural production is the road of an increase in yields. The possibilities towards this end have been created and these should be transformed into reality everywhere.

In order to increase yields, great care should be devoted to the participation of the peasantry in the common work of the cooperatives, they should work with an ever greater impetus and give the crops all the attention they need. Only through work shall we create a solid basis for a more rapid increase in the yields of agricultural products from now on.

As was underlined at the 5th Congress of our Party, in order to have agriculture develop at a rapid pace, alongside with the campaign for its intensification, we must still follow the road of opening up virgin lands for a long time to come. In spite of the enormous work done in this direction, we still have big and unexploited reserves for the increase of the land surfaces under cultivation with cereals, potatoes etc.

Our greatest reserves for opening virgin lands are in the hilly and, especially, mountain regions; therefore here also we must concentrate greater attention, although in the plains too we must work to widen the acreage under cultivation, because here also there is land that has not yet been exploited.

In order to fulfil the tasks of the 4th Five Year Plan for opening 115,000 hectares of virgin lands, the cooperative members, the workers of the State Agricultural Enterprises, of the Machine and Tractor Stations and of the Army Agricultural Enterprises are engaged in a very serious work. But there is still much to be done in this direction. It is very important to underline especially the imperative need for the application of all the technical rules in breaking up virgin soil, because in certain cases we have noticed quite a number of errors and deficiencies with innumerable consequences. Here we refer to the measures to be taken against the erosion of the land that has just been opened.

3. Let Us Deepen Further Socialist Cooperation within Agricultural Cooperatives

Besides the basic ideological, political and economic cooperation instituted in the countryside by our Party during the collectivization of agriculture, as Comrade Enver pointed out at the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party, there exists another great economic cooperation, which is so much interconnected with the latter that it seems for us as something natural. This cooperation is of great

importance for the exploitation to the maximum of all the soil, climate, material basis, manpower and other conditions. But besides this, a very great importance, which has not yet been pointed out and understood as it should, is to be attached to the other aspect, that is to say, to the impulse that cooperation will give to the social development of the countryside and to narrowing down the gap between the countryside and town.

As in every other aspect, our agricultural cooperatives have scored big progress in the field of the all-round development of their economy. Thus, for example, by introducing and spreading the cultivation of industrial plants, by developing fructiculture, cattle and pig-breeding and some other auxiliary activities, we have witnessed a continuous improvement of the structure of production in our agricultural cooperatives with all the social and economic benefits pertaining to it.

The improvement made in the complex development of agriculture can be seen in a more harmonious development of the various agricultural crops and livestock, too. Thus, whereas in the year 1950, in the Republic as a whole, the bread cereals took 67 percent of the entire surface under cultivation, in the year 1967 they have taken 60 percent, although the production of cereals has doubled. During that same period the land under vegetables increased 2.2 times, under industrial plants, — 2 times and under feeds — 5 times.

All these facts go to prove the transition from the previous one-sided agriculture to an agriculture with many branches. In spite of that there remains still much to be done for a rational cooperation of the different branches of agriculture.

The further increase in food grain production demands at all costs the development of the livestock-raising in general and of the cow-raising in particular. All of us have heard now of the example of the most advanced State Agricultural Enterprises as that of Kamza, Sukth, Maliq, etc., as well as of that of the agricultural cooperatives of Shijak (Durrës), Këmishtaj (Lushnja), Lumalas and Pojan (Korça), Laknas (Tirana), etc., where, hand in hand with the increase of the number of cows, we witness an increase in the yield and production of food grains.

The problem of cooperation of agriculture with livestock

raising is known from a long time, but we must connect it with livestock in general and the cow raising in particular, because their development is one of the decisive prerequisites to modern agriculture.

But it should also be borne in mind that the cooperation between the different branches in agriculture cannot be affected without the specialization of the different branches, that is to say, without the differentiation of one or two of the main branches, which can be combined in a rational way with the other secondary or complementary branches as well as with auxiliary activities.

By cooperation in agriculture our Party does not imply only the economic problem but also an important social problem that is connected with the «creation of a new material and psychological situation in the life of the cooperative members».

The setting up of auxiliary activities in the agricultural cooperatives has always been an acknowledged problem, to the solution of which something has been done. But today, under the new conditions, there has been added to it the task that the organisation of the auxiliary activities be raised to a new and higher level, they should take an industrial character and include all the various kinds of services in the countryside.

The year just gone witnessed the initiation of better work for cooperation in the sphere of the auxiliary activities. Thus, for example, in connection with the joint statement of Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, the agricultural cooperatives, hand in hand with the reduction of the size of the personal plots, not only increased the common herds of cattle and planted more vegetables for the needs of their members, but began also to build workshops for processing dairy fruit, vegetable and other food products. Prominent in this respect are many cooperatives in the districts of Berat, Durrës, Fier, Shkodra etc. Today in the agricultural cooperatives of these districts there have been set up carpenter and blacksmith shops, brigades and squads of builders, etc. In many districts the cooperatives have organised well the production of bricks, tiles, lime, straw mats, etc. All these are of great importance for the improvement of the living conditions of the members of the cooperatives, for the exploitation of the raw materials on the spot, for the proper organization of their work and for the increase of

their income. A striking change in the psychology and life of the cooperative farmers has been brought about by the setting up of kindergartens and creches as well as of public bakeries.

Viewing with such an eye the further development of the socialist countryside, we should take steps for setting up kindergartens and creches, collective bakeries as well as workshops for processing milk, fruits and vegetables; we should develop on a larger scale the above-mentioned auxiliary activities, which are of great economic and social importance. Here we should include also the public bathrooms and laundries that have begun to be set up in many agricultural cooperatives.

Measures should be taken also to train new masters and craftsmen, who are so much needed in the cooperatives. We mean brick layers, carpenters, blacksmiths, cart and carriage builders, electricians as well as shoemakers, tailors, bakers and cooks, technicians to process fruits, vegetables, milk, etc.

Then Comrade Piro Dodbiba spoke of the need for the development and enlivenment of the cultural life of the countryside, without which the further revolutionization of life and production in the countryside cannot be conceive today.

III. LET US FURTHER PERFECT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

In summing up the historical experience of the socialist transformation of our countryside Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 5th Congress of our Party: «Our Party has always connected in an insoluble way the development of agriculture with the socialist edification in the countryside, which is and continues to be an uninterrupted revolution including a wholleseries of transformations of a social, economic, cultural, ideological and technical character».

In conformity with this, besides the deepening of the scientific and technical revolution of which we just spoke, the complete edification of socialism in the countryside poses also important problems for the improvement of special aspects of inter-relations in production, as for example: the forms of organisation and payment for work in the cooperatives; the establishment of just proportions in the

distribution of funds, by insuring also an ever broader socialist reproduction and a continuous growth of the welfare of the peasantry, the application of the line of the masses by broadening furthermore socialist democracy.

Talking about some problems in connection with the organisation and the remuneration for work, Comrade Piro Dodbiba said: In the many years of the existence of the cooperatives we have gained a rich experience in organisational matters, on the basis of which it is necessary to underline once more the task of the all-round strengthening of the permanent production brigade, which has been and remains the basic unit of work in the agricultural cooperatives we have gained a rich experience in organisation to fix more clearly the duties and the rights of the brigade and, consequently, to further strengthen responsibility, order and discipline at work.

The work with collective norms is another necessary element for the socialist organisation of work, its is a higher form of organisation, which is being acknowledged by our cooperative farmers.

Our Party teaches us that the forms of collective work develop the spirit of collectivism, enhance the role of the masses in solving problems of organisational, technical and economic nature in production, help to further revolutionize their consciousness.

A year almost has passed from the time when, on the basis of the recommendations of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, the work with collective norms has been considerably widened in most of the cooperatives. Through this manner of organisation, besides the simplification of the accounting procedure, the self initiative of the brigades and squads, the self-control of the cooperative members, their participation at work, its yield and quality have been enhanced.

The closest connection possible of the remuneration with the results of production of the brigade, *says the report further on*, especially when the latter work with collective norms, reflects better the socialist principle of remuneration according to the work done, because in this case it is not only the quantity that weighs in the balance, but the quality as well, i.e. the result of the work done.

The direct participation in production, *says further on the report*, is a very important duty for the directing cadres,

specialists as well as for all the brigade leaders. It has to do mainly with their ideological tempering, with the strengthening of their ties with the masses, with the understanding of the role of the directing personnel, with the blocking of every single path leading to the cropping up of any privileged strata in the countryside. «Only by working together with the workers and peasants», — says Lenin, — can one become a real communist».

A very good example was offered during the past year by the cooperative of Ndroqi, which deepened further the initiative of the Trashani Cooperative. Through the measures adopted by the grass-root Party organisation and by the administration of the cooperative, here all the directing cadres take active part on a wide scale in productive work, whereas the brigade leaders take part in production all the year around.

This goes to prove that not only in the small cooperatives (with less than 100 hectares of land under cultivation), but also in the big cooperatives, as the ones of Trashani and Ndroqi, it is altogether possible for the orientations given by our Party to be achieved and carried still further. Suffice it to say here that the cadres correctly understand ideologically and politically the importance of work in production and fight stubbornly to participate in it. In spite of this, last year in some cooperatives in the districts of Lushnja, Tepelena, Pogradec, etc. the work of direct participation in production was not at its height.

All these measures: work on the basis of collective norms and payment of the cooperative members on the basis of the production units, the participation of the directing cadres directly in production and the more direct connection of their pay with that of the members of the cooperative, represent some of the new and more progressive elements that have come into being in the system of organisation and payment of work in our agricultural cooperatives in the period between the two Congresses of the Agricultural Cooperatives.

Further down in the report it is pointed out that in order to strengthen further the democracy among the cooperative members it is absolutely necessary to convene regularly the general assembly of the cooperative members, as well as to ensure the participation of all the members in this assembly, to hold meetings of brigades on all the problems, to activate the planning committees etc.

The strengthening and widening of democracy among the cooperative members is connected also with the work of the governing bodies of the agricultural cooperatives, which, doubtless, play a very important role in the welfare of the cooperative. Our Party is proud of the wonderful cadres that have been brought up and educated under its continuous care. Among them there are many comrades who went voluntarily to the countryside from the work centers, in answer to the call of our Party, and are doing a very good job there.

One of the fundamental principles of the Statute of the agricultural cooperatives, he continued, is the harmonization of the interests of each member of the cooperative with those of the cooperative as a whole and the interest of the cooperative, with those of society as a whole, the first being always subordinate to the second ones. This problem should be understood aright and be applied in a consistent manner in all respects, because on the world outlook and on the stand taken by the cooperative members towards this problem depend the organisational and economic strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives. When the members of the agricultural cooperatives subordinate their personal to the general interests of the cooperative, looking at it as a great ideological problem, then the continuity of the road towards the edification of socialism in the countryside is guaranteed. In the opposite case, that is to say, if the personal interest is placed above the general interest, then the edification of socialism is threatened with failure and the road towards the revisionists quagmire is opened wide.

A PRINCIPLED MARXIST-LENINIST STAND AT ALL TIMES

— An article by Comrade Nexhmie Hoxha, Member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and Directress of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, commemorating the 25th anniversary of the First National Conference of the Communist Party (now Party of Labor) of Albania, reproduced from the «Zëri i Popullit» daily, dt. March 17, 1967

The historic decisions of the First National Conference of the Communist Party (now the Party of Labor) of Albania lie also at the root of the achievements attained by our people during the period of the National-liberation War and the subsequent years of People's Power.

The First National Conference of the Party was held at Upper Labinot from 17 to 21 March, 1943. It was attended by nearly 70 delegates elected by local Party organizations and partisan detachments under the critical conditions of clandestinity and of battle with foreign invaders and local traitors.

The preparations for the Conference and its proceedings were based on the directives of the Communist Internationale received in December 1942 and on Comrade Enver Hoxha's report submitted at the meeting of the Provisional Central Committee on the eve of the Conference.

The Conference took up and approved the main report submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha and other reports and gave unanimous approval to the correct line of the Party which had been put to the test in life. Priority was given throughout the proceedings to the problem of organizing a general people's uprising.

As a decisive prerequisite to attain this objective the Conference decided on *strengthening the Party in all aspects*,

on uniting all anti-fascist forces into a broad National-liberation Front under the leadership of the Party and on setting up a National-liberation Army.

Strengthening the unity of the Party was specified as an essential prerequisite to bringing about the militant unity of the people and the leadership of the Party in the National-liberation War. The Conference called for an increase in vigilance and a fight against any survivals of the grouping spirit; it outlined tasks to swell the ranks of the Party in the terrain and in the army thwarting any sectarian trends in this direction. In the Resolution we read: «Attach special attention to setting up grass-root units in workshops... to flinging the doors of the Party open to the workers, to organizing Party organizations in the countryside since without them the work, of the Party and the National-liberation War will score no success... to doing away with the old sectarianism as concerns admitting new members to the Party, particularly now at wartime when resolute, well-disciplined, devoted and daring fighters assert themselves... The organizations should devote special attention, particularly at present, to admitting women into the Party and especially women of the poorer rural and urban strata.»

The Conference called for ruling out any commandeering stand, for strengthening criticism and self-criticism, for enhancing the spirit of discipline and of initiative among communists and Party organizations.

Special importance was attached to raising the political and theoretical level of cadres and communists «so that they may more easily find their bearings under all situations and overcome all obstacles in carrying out the tasks assigned to them». In the Resolutions of the Conference we read: «Everything should be done to give an opportunity to members to acquire knowledge in a Marxist-Leninist spirit and as soon and on as sound a basis as possible.» The Conference ruled: «Accustom members to study also during wartime... drive the idea which some still have that this is the period of fighting and not of books; both the rifle and the book are equally necessary... launch a vigorous campaign against ignorance». The Conference charged the Central Committee and the organizations of the Party with the task of providing the necessary Marxist-Leninist literature and of organizing the study, first and foremost, of the history of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The First National Conference attached special importance to strengthening the links of the Party with the masses and to priming the latter for a general uprising.

The Conference called on all to have a good grasp of the National-liberation War, for «any deviation from the framework of this war would greatly jeopardize the outcome of the war and our Party itself».

«We», Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the meeting of the Central Committee prior to the Congress, «are not opportunists and have not lost sight of our ultimate objectives but before coming to them we should accomplish our more immediate task: the National-liberation War».

The Conference attacked sectarian trends which manifested themselves here and there by considering the national-liberation councils and partisan units as communist organizations. But on the other hand, it subjected to severe criticism those communists who had shown an inclination towards capitulating to the pressure of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who had expressed the idea of integrating the party into the national-liberation movement. «These ideas», the Conference stressed, «lead to the liquidation of the Party».

It set the task of intensifying the individuality and leading role of the Party on the National-liberation Front, of doing more to popularize the Communist Party as the torchbearer of the struggle to liberate the people from the fascist invaders and traitors «for a free, independent and democratic Albania where the people may lead a better and happier life».

The Conference concentrated its attention particularly on strengthening the leadership of the working class in the National-liberation War and on consolidating the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

Considering the working masses as the prop of the Party, the Conference set the task of doing persistent work in making the Party penetrate deeper and deeper among these masses.

In view of the very important role of the peasantry in the National-liberation War, the Conference stressed that «special attention should be devoted to the work in the countryside, because the peasants make up the overwhelming majority of our population and, therefore, it is among them we find the mainspring of the principal forces for our

present war. It calls on local party organizations and partisan units to extend and improve their clarifying and organizational work in the countryside. The primary task was to pep up the national-liberation councils and to draw as many peasants into partisan ranks as possible.

Dissertations were held at the Congress also on the role of youth and women in the National-liberation War. It was pointed out that good results had been attained in mobilizing youths who were demonstrating their readiness and heroism. The Conference criticized manifestations of sectarianism among the communist youth, concentration of work on mainly the school youth and less on labor youth and still less on peasant youth.

The problem of women was considered a primary one and it was emphasized that women should play an important role in the anti-fascist war and should rise up against invaders and long-age enslavement, for national liberation and happier days to come.

The Conference called for the formation of the organization of the Albanian Anti-fascist Youth Union and of the Women's Anti-fascist Front.

With a view to swelling the ranks of and consolidating the Front, the Conference drew the attention of the communists to working more patiently with the nationalists without falling into sectarianism and opportunism, to drawing into the National-liberation Front those who despised the invaders, to detaching from the Balli Kombtar («National Front») or to neutralizing those who wavered. Priority should be given, it was stressed at the Conference, to the work with the plain and honest people who had been deceived by the «National Front» and make them come to grips with the fascist invaders

In view of the successes attained in the organization of the armed uprising, the Party recommended «the creation of the regular National-liberation Army out of partisan units and volunteers which would strike terror on the occupationists and would be a firm and powerful guarantee for the liberation of the people».

The Conference enjoined that the role of the Party in the war should be that of inspiring people to greater efforts penetrating among the masses not by words and decrees but by tangible deeds. The communists should be in the forefront of battle. The communists whether in fighting units

or anywhere else should fight not only with their rifles but also with deeds of agitation, propaganda, persuasion, discipline and political awareness. The National-liberation War is not a war of cadres but one of the masses. Our National-liberation Army is not an army of the Party but of the people. These are the precepts our Party has always pursued on its role of leadership among the masses, in the army and everywhere else both during the period of the National-liberation War as well as subsequently and all along its lifetime.

Voices are being heard in the chorus of the revisionists and their agents claiming that «under present conditions priority should be given to guerilla warfare and not to consolidating the existing parties and creating new ones», claiming that «the people army should be the nucleus of the party and not the other way round».

Not only at present but ever since it came into being the Party of Labor of Albania, as can be seen in the minutes of the First National Congress, has firmly upheld the role of the party and of politics in the army. It has abided by the principle that «politics directs the rifle and not the rifle politics»; the army was assigned not only to the task of military activities but also to that setting up and defending the People's Power, the National-liberation Councils. In the same way, the army today is not only a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party and people to safeguard their achievements but also a big school of political, ideological, technological and vocational training and tempering prepared for defense and work.

This has been the way pointed out to us by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin which effected the Great October Socialist Revolution and brought about its victory over fascism during the Great Patriotic War.

When the First National Conference wound up its proceedings, the delegates to it wrote the Executive Committee of the Comintern: «We will allow no power to thwart our Party from the great ideals of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, from the ideals of the Communist Internationale».

Our Party of Labor has made good its promise.

The glorious experience of our Party during the last 25 years and more has proved that it is not enough to work out a correct line but it is necessary also to see to it that this line is carried out in a revolutionary and consistent way.

The correctness of the political line is tested in revolutionary practice. Our Party has always kept this in mind. It has never balked before difficulties and it has never detached itself from the masses. It has never hushed up its mistakes and shortcomings, maintaining at all times a critical attitude towards them, and it has never tolerated anti-Party trends to develop within its ranks. This principled stand runs through all the activity of the Party like a red thread from the day it was founded to this.

Not long after the First National Conference there cropped up in Vlora Sadik Premtaj's hostile factional gesture which was immediately cut in the nib thanks to the speedy intervention of the Central Committee. In a letter Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the Tirana Regional Party Committee in June 1943 in connection with this matter, he stressed with force: «Comrades! Once again keep your eyes open in your organization, aid the newly-admitted comrades, lift them up, teach them to live the life of the Party, to cherish it as the balls of their eyes, wage a ruthless battle against groupings, never neglect for a moment organizational matters, for otherwise everything will be lost. The National Conference should be a good lesson for us, and not a thing which has passed over to pre-history!»

We do not intend to mention here all that bitter and uncompromizing battle the Party has waged within its ranks and outside them against right-wing deviators, agents of the bourgeoisie like Sejfulla Maleshova & Co, against the enemies of the Party and of the people like Kogi Xoxe and others, against Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists and against the agents of the latter.

The 5th Party Congress and the revolutionary spirit which has gripped today our country are a brilliant proof of the steel-like unity which has been created within the Party and between the Party and the people. Nevertheless, the Party has taught us not to sleep on our laurels. The 5th Congress outlined the way how to further strengthen our Party, how to make it rely more and more on the people of production, how to train and temper new members, it laid down the rule on how and who should be admitted to Party membership, how they should strengthen their relations with the masses by enjoying not a single privilege, it showed them how to ward off any danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, how not to be intoxicated by success, not to

fag out and to be smothered by routine and bureaucracy.

In his 1967 February 6 Speech Comrade Enver Hoxha thought it advisable to dwell once more on and analyze the directives of the 5th Party Congress for a better grasp and a revolutionary implementation of the principles and norms of the Party, for an uninterrupted development of the class struggle and of the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy. The correct application of the revolutionary line, principles and norms of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, will be attained only through fighting bureaucracy and its carriers. This fight should be waged by the masses themselves. The Party strives and it should strive ever more vigorously to make the masses, first and foremost, the working class, to raise their voice in protest against shortcomings and mistakes, against bureaucratic concepts and distortions, against bureaucrats regardless of the place they occupy and the functions they fulfil.

Lenin has taught us that socialism cannot be built by a minority, by the Party alone; we can govern only when we interpret aright what the people need. Revolution becomes such only when tens of millions of people rise up in a body in a general drive.

Right at the First National Conference the Party stressed that we and the people should wage the war together.

These lessons and this concern have run through all the life and struggle of our Party of Labor. It is due to this that our country has now been gripped by this powerful revolutionary movement and old and young are up and fighting shortcomings and mistakes, turning alien concepts and manifestations to dust and ashes, intensifying the class struggle on the ideological front, enabling the uninterrupted continuation of socialist revolution.

The revolutionary ways our Party and people are pursuing, the steps that are being taken in our country are a guarantee that revisionism will never crop up its head in our country, that «no germ may infect» the healthy body of our socialist society.

Giving ear to and analyzing what is happening in the Soviet Union and in certain socialist countries where revisionist cliques are in power, our Party is daily drawing lessons and taking preventive measures for itself and for the people. Our Party and its Marxist-Leninist leadership will never allow things to happen as they are happening in revi-

sionist countries: severance from the laboring masses, smothering their voice, warping and ignoring the working class, its role of leadership, bourgeoitization and bureaucratization of the leadership and apparatus of the State and of the Party.

Both in the Soviet Union as well as in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries where the revisionists hold sway, the law in the party is being made by the bureaucrats, technocrats, cankered intellectuals and writers, venturesome students. With the word socialism in their lips they are coming out into the streets, crying themselves hoarse in soapbox oratory, in demonstrations, newspapers and periodical in order to proceed faster towards the restoration of capitalism with all its ways of living and thinking.

«The conservative elders» who head the revisionist cliques, feign astonishment and anger at these «exaggerations» of their offspring, do not give their consent as long as these «liberalizations» are intended to be carried out without them.

Responsible for these ultra-revisionist mess and dissipation are the revisionist cliques themselves; it is they who sowed the wind and are reaping the hurricane; it is Khrushchev's faithful friends who betrayed the working class and the revolution, who raised their dagger against Stalin and Marxism-Leninism in general, who «condemned» our Party and Mao Tse-tung's Communist Party of China because we warned them and are daily telling them bluntly that they are riding to their fall, we are fighting and will continue to fight them mercilessly till they are completely done away with.

Our Party has always maintained a principled stand on an international level just as it has done internally on the unity of the Party and the revolution. It is exposing the new imperialist-revisionist alliance between the imperialist chiefs of the USA and the Soviet revisionist clique, it is exposing the degeneration of parties into counter-revolutionary parties of the social-democrat type, their intentions to replace Marxist-Leninist scientific theory with opportunist-bourgeois theory for the purpose of liquidating the socialist order, the dictatorship of the proletariat and of doing away with the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

But, as the 5th Party Congress pointed out, contradictions of the same nature are gnawing at the world revisionist front as those which are gnawing at the world imperialist

front. «The revisionist front is now being wrecked from the very foundation, the revisionists resemble a pack of hungry wolves ready to grip one another by the throat. The whole revisionist orchestra is no longer under the control of the conductor's baton». This was clearly manifested also in the recent Budapest meeting.

Our Party has expressed more than once in a resolute way that it does not consent to any kind of unity with the Khrushchevite revisionists. Not reconciliation and unity with revisionists, the 5th Party Congress emphasized, but severance and definitive separation from them.

Our Party of Labor notes that «the history of the international communist movement... has gone from unity to a split and from this split to a new unity on a newer and higher groundwork». The Party of Labor of Albania takes into account this objective law when it expresses its firm view that «unity will be re-established in the communist movement and the socialist camp, but it will be reestablished by the Marxist-Leninists, without revisionists and traitors and in a determined battle against them».

Viewing the problem from this angle, the party of Labor of Albania greets and upholds the organization of the new revolutionary forces in Marxist-Leninist parties and groups. It has confidence in them and in their future since it is guided by the objective laws of the dialectic development of society and by its enlightened experience. Twenty seven years ago it came into being out of small communist groups, it was quite unknown to the masses; twenty-five years ago, at its First Conference, it boasted of about 700 members all told and was battling with ruthless external and internal enemies armed to the teeth or clasped by the roots which they had entwined for centuries on the land and bosom of our people. But through its correct line it won against these enemies, it won again against other enemies within and outside the party and country, who lay in the way of socialist construction, it frustrated the blockades set up by the imperialists and Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, it forged such a Party attached to the masses that have turned our country today into a granitic bastion and beacon light for Marxist-Leninist parties and peoples who are eager to proceed along the real road to socialist and communist construction.

THE BUDAPEST CARNIVALS

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During the month of February carnivals are organized in some countries. Individuals wearing all sorts of masks for their amusement interpret roles of the most different kinds. The sponsors of carnivals draw large profits from these manifestations. History, however, records different kinds of carnivals.

Voltaire, an outstanding French thinker and author of the 18th century, has written about the carnivals of Venice. The writer has placed in the role of clowns various dethroned kings and makes fun of their ridiculous dreams and desires.

In our days the world became acquainted also with another kind of carnivals, the Budapest carnivals. Precisely in the month of February, during the carnival week, the modern revisionists met in the Hungarian capital, wearing different masks.

The revisionist meeting of Budapest was prepared with much toil by the Khrushchovite revisionists. Right before its opening the first signs appeared indicating that this meeting would not serve the much coveted hegemony of the Soviet revisionist leaders. On the eve of the meeting and compelled by their partners, the Soviets made some opportunist liberal concessions and publicly declared, through a speech delivered by Brezhnev in Leningrad, that Moscow is no longer «the leading center of world communism», that the unity which the Soviet leaders are seeking is allegedly based on the idea of «proletarian internationalism», on the «struggle against U.S. imperialism» for the general interests of «socialist construction».

Of course they covered all this with the «fig leaf» so as to present themselves as real bearers of Marxism-Leninism which they will carry out according to the interpretation and

«specific» conditions of each revisionist party. These were also the «conditions» set to the Soviet revisionists for participation in the meeting by a group of revisionists who pose as autonomous and allegedly as the most «revolutionary» from among the revisionists. This group, indeed, proclaiming the decision to attend the meeting, presented also its own theses: no party should interfere with the internal affairs of other parties, no party has a right to criticize the actions of other parties which are «fully entitled» to interpret and implement Marxism-Leninism the way they like, to suit their own fancy.

These ideas, not only surpass the revisionists idea of Togliatti's polycentrism, but suggest that each party should become a center in itself. In other words, this means to allow not only one and two interpretations of our revolutionary theory, but tens, if not hundreds of them. It is obvious that such ideas are aimed at attacking Marxism-Leninism on all sides, at sowing a great ideological confusion, at disorientating the political, ideological, military and organizational struggle of the peoples, at discrediting the socialist system and communism.

Thus, right before the meeting, on the back stage, in principle and in practice, the following main question was laid down: should we fight Marxism-Leninism resorting to classical methods and under the hegemony of the Soviet revisionist or should we reject both the classical methods and the Soviet hegemony and adopt «newer more urgent and more reliable» methods to fully smash and dissolve the communist movement. The last viewpoint was forcefully supported by Tito, Longo and by the «autonomous». It was apparently quite attractive also to new liberal groups of revisionists who have just come to power. The partisans of the one or the other thesis had their own supporters who acted as marketeers in lobbies and on the Budapest stage, during the carnival week from February 26 to March 5.

The Soviet revisionists failed in their fundamental aim — that the Budapest meeting should take up the main problem that preoccupies them more than any thing else: the full and obedient mobilization of all the revisionist parties in the fight against the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist parties. Only the solution of this problem could rid the Soviets of that heavy weight resting on their shoulders and which constitutes

the main cause of the further deepening of the split in the ranks of the revisionist front.

According to the Soviet revisionist leaders, the fight against the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist parties can by no means be successful without the unity of all the revisionists and without the hegemony of the Soviet leaders to guide this fight. Khrushchov sought to achieve this through the meeting of the communist parties proposed by him as far back as in 1964 and which failed; his successors also tried to achieve this at the revisionist meetings of Moscow in March 1965 and of Karlovy Vary. They failed in both directions and their business went from bad to worse. Therefore, to extricate themselves from this situation the Moscow revisionist clique moved all the pawns in Budapest to force upon others the holding as soon as possible in Moscow of a meeting of the revisionist parties where they hoped for the adoption of the «decisions» most cherished by them, that is the coordination, of the fight of the modern revisionists under the leadership of the Soviets against Marxism-Leninism, against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania.

The Budapest meeting, which according to the hopes of its sponsors should have been a meeting of the revisionist unity, became a meeting of the split, of disputes and of their further degeneration. The Budapest discussions publicly showed that not everybody conceives the future meeting in Moscow such as the Soviet revisionists desire it, and that the various opponents, although they gave their approval, have not renounced their aim to defend their narrow interests, to fight the Soviet leaders and to force their own viewpoints on others. The preparatory period up to the end of this year will witness still deeper and more spectacular divisions. The Soviet revisionists will encounter most diverse oppositions because the other opposing revisionists do not want and are not in a hurry for such a meeting. The participation of the so-called great revisionist parties is more than indispensable to the Soviets, although in words they say that they will hold the meeting irrespective of who will be missing. It is clear to everybody that they cannot go to the meeting they desire with the «party» of Guadeloupe, with Larbi Buhali, Koliaynnis or with some other permanent resident of the Moscow hotels, for this would be for them an irreparable catastrophe.

Some revisionists who have interests opposed to those

of the Soviet revisionists, have other objectives, they want to intensify the fight against the Communist Party of China, against the Party of Labor of Albania through their forms and methods and without the Soviet hegemony, to strengthen the ties and relations with the capitalist bourgeois states, to come to terms with the social-democrats and the other bourgeois parties, to take direct part in the government of the country on the road of capitalist exploitation, etc. Therefore, these revisionists do not stand for the meeting such as the Soviet revisionist leaders are preaching, but for a meeting without definite aims, allegedly to «exchange views», to become better acquainted with what the one or the other thinks about one or another problem, and all this should be openly publicized, allegedly, in the most «democratic» forms.

These «democratic» and «open» forms of debates, in the eyes of these revisionists, express in reality the concrete plans of their daily work for the achievement of the objectives we mentioned above. On these questions, too, they want to officially assert that the bourgeois democracy, the bourgeois «free and well-informed press» constitute the aim of their efforts, they are, so to speak, the adornment of their line of the «special, democratic», parliamentary road to strike up friendship with the capitalist bourgeoisie and to come to power.

On the other hand, the «independence» of these parties is by no means to the liking of the Soviet revisionists who, leaving aside the hypocritical statements imposed by the circumstances, will do everything in their power, will exert all and every pressure and blackmail to restrain the dissidents. Blackmail and economic pressure, the creation of disturbances within disobedient parties and countries, the instigation of territorial claims in those countries where they exist, etc., are the usual weapons which the Soviet revisionism sets in motion in order to intimidate and force its viewpoints upon the others.

Of course these weapons are not always ineffective, the results however cannot be everywhere and always favorable to the Soviet revisionists. The general trend which is noticed is unfavourable to them; the number of dissidents and opponents to the Soviet hegemony in the revisionist camp is growing with every passing day. But in spite of the failures they have suffered and are suffering, the Soviet revisionists will continue to use these favourite weapons of theirs whenever they can. In this respect they take advantage also of

their economic potential, of the ties and chains which they have forged for their satellites, of their military potential which scares the cowards, of their espionage network which they have set up in the revisionist parties and in the countries where they are in power.

The Soviet revisionists behave towards their satellites and clients in the same way as U.S. imperialism behaves towards its satellites and clients whom it keeps in chains. Just as the United States acts in the United Nations when it sets the voting machine in motion so do the Soviet revisionists set in motion the voting machine in their own «United Nations» which they are seeking to call «international communist movement». But just as capitalist cliques detach themselves from the U.S. dictate, just as there are those that sometimes kick at U.S. imperialism, so there are also revisionist cliques that detach themselves from the Soviet revisionists. There are also those who, being unable to detach themselves, kick at them at times and there are also those who are permanently subservient to them.

The Budapest carnival-like conference was such a basketful of crabs. And the Soviet revisionists sought to establish order precisely where order can never be established.

Now, after the preparatory campaign and the Budapest meeting, when the centrifugal, nationalist and dissident tendencies in various revisionist groupings were further crystallized, the risks for the Soviet revisionists are more numerous and more comprehensive.

The main danger preoccupying them most and which has opened to them a new serious wound, comes from the revisionist cliques who are in power. It must be said that now none of them wants and tolerates the yoke of the Soviet revisionists any longer. In one way or another they all seek to get rid of it as soon as possible, but by preserving the appearance of «friendship» and «alliance» in so far as it can be preserved and by aiming at drawing as much economic and political advantages as possible from the created conjuncture which compels the Soviet revisionists, finding themselves under all-round blows and in weak positions, to make concessions after concessions in order to calm the «disobedient children».

However, as the centrifugal tendency is rapidly mounting, the revisionist cliques in power do not present a single and united front in their opposition to the Soviet hegemony and

in their claims for «independence» from it. At present, the most aggressive wing, the detachment and the open corroding of the Soviet hegemony in the revisionist herd are represented by the Tito clique and their close friends. The latter, enjoying also the support and the visible instigation of U.S. imperialism and of the western upper bourgeoisie which are interested in further weakening the Soviet positions in Eastern Europe and in concluding the old alliances with these countries, openly challenge the Soviet leadership and counterpoise themselves as a new claimant to hegemony, if not comprehensive, at least political and ideological, over the revisionist parties of this area.

Other new followers of Tito's example have begun also to advance on this road, but for the time being they prefer no to exasperate their differences with the Soviet revisionists because this would open to them a new front at a time when they have not yet consolidated their own internal positions.

The Gomulka clan is anti-Soviet to the extreme, but for immediate interests of the conjuncture, which stem especially from the policy towards Germany, it stands closer to the Soviet revisionists, trying to preserve the authority of a partner «equal» to them. In the same way, the Germans cannot help being firmly opposed to the Soviet and all the other revisionists, but the issue of the German Democratic Republic within the European framework is at the mercy of the Soviet revisionists and of their satellites. The other revisionist cliques of Eastern Europe are swimming in more or less similar waters.

The second danger, less grave than the first one, comes to the Soviet revisionists from the great legal revisionist parties in the capitalist countries. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique is making every effort and resorting to all means to keep them attached to itself and to have their support. But in these parties, too, there is no identic conviction about the question as to what extent they should follow the Soviet revisionists, where they should part with and where they should be opposed to them. The French Communist Party of Waldeck Rochet, for well-known reasons, stands nearer to the Soviet revisionists and spares no pains to place itself at their service somewhat more than the others, meanwhile, the Italian revisionist party, which in comparison with the French is like a poor cousin to the Soviets, gives more kicks, is trying to appear more «independent», feigning to adopt an

attitude of its own, a «special one». It is, so to speak, the Titoite party in capitalist countries.

The rest of the legal revisionist parties in capitalist countries, which live at the mercy of Moscow, make up the large part of the revisionist «UNO».

As far as the other illegal revisionist parties in capitalist countries are concerned they do not cause the least uneasiness to the Soviet revisionists. The leaders of these parties represent a mere agency of the Soviet revisionists, they are in their full service and they yield the complementary and obedient number of the votes in the Soviet «assembly». The immediate and ultimate objective of these revisionist parties is their legalization, pleading with the capitalists of their respective countries to allow them to act in the known forms of the bourgeois legal petty opposition.

Like all the other fellow revisionist parties, these parties have abandoned the revolutionary road, the class struggle, the armed struggle and they have adopted Khrushchov's peaceful road of coexistence. Having betrayed Marxism-Leninism and having lost all ties with the masses, they have pinned all their hopes on the support which the Soviet revisionist policy and its alliance with U.S. imperialism and world capitalism can give them. They have now reduced themselves to the status of hooligans of revisionism, into a revisionist «bohemia», willing to sell itself out for a penny. The Soviet revisionists desire to legalize as soon as possible this contingent of agents with whom they act as they please. This was the aim of the directive of the Soviet and Greek revisionists — that all the Greek emigres, communists or not, should openly go to Greece at the time when that country was ruled by Venizelos and Papandreou. A similar policy has been and is being pursued by the revisionist party of Spain. The Soviet revisionists achieved this by sending Bugdash to Syria. This policy of legalization and renunciation to the struggle against imperialism and the ruling oligarchies has been suggested also to all the revisionist parties in Latin America.

In this troubles and unstable situation of the revisionist herd the Titoite trend, which is seeking to gain time so as to fully consummate the division, openly opposes the Soviet aims to convene as soon as possible a meeting that would support their plans. The clan of the old and young Titoites think that time is working for them, and that is why they

have enough courage to challenge the Soviet revisionists at their most vulnerable points. For the Soviet clan the affair brooks no delay, they are trying to escape the sinking of the ship, to conclude something as soon as possible, before it is too late. They think, and practice has confirmed it to them, that through bilateral meetings of revisionist parties they can achieve but temporary bargainings, transactions and intrigues of small proportions. For home and foreign consumption, they have to organize from time to time, and the more often the better, some broad meeting of the revisionist parties to see how far they have got and to patch-up any rents. Therefore, the Soviet revisionists, despite the obstinate opposition of the Titoite trend, adopted in Budapest the decision that the coming meeting of the revisionist parties should be held in Moscow at the end of the current year. At this meeting they should discuss, under the smokescreen of the unity of the struggle against imperialism, the real problem preoccupying them — the coordinated fight against Marxism-Leninism, against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania.

This objective of the coming meeting was quite categorically expressed by Suslov not only behind the scenes and in lobbies, but also in his official speech in Budapest. The agenda and the aims of the meeting so much desired by the Soviet leaders, were still more clearly defined by the Polish representative Klishko. The crowd of the revisionist «hooligans» that constituted the majority of votes at the Budapest «UNO» acclaimed with a great zeal the meeting proposed by the Soviet leaders, for only at such a place can they deliver some speech or other just to have their voices heard. They should at least bark at times for the bones thrown to them.

In this way, the obstacles raised by the neo-Titoites on the road to the coming meeting could not overcome the obstinacy and pressure of the Soviet revisionist leaders. The condition laid down by them in order to support the Moscow meeting was a mere tactical manoeuver and that is why it could not be very effective. When they said that all the parties should be invited to the coming meeting, everybody knew that they did not mean either the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania, or the new Marxist-Leninist parties, but they meant the Yugoslav Titoite party which has set forth as a first condition to «deign» to sit down at a revisionist general meeting, among other things, that of

repudiating all what has been said about it in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. Tito demands now that not only the Soviets should publicly make self-criticism as Khrushchov did when he went to Belgrade in 1955, but everybody should kneel down before them. The Soviet revisionists, on their part, have in practice and on principle accepted such a thing, but, as it seems, due to complicated conjunctures which they themselves have created they are not yet ready to consent that this be officially and noisily removed from the said documents and from the meeting to be held.

The Italian revisionists, too, who are not very enthusiastic about the coming meeting, sought to place before it their barricades, although of a different nature.

They want the coming meeting to be a bazaar to which all kinds of parties with their lock stock and barrel should be invited to take part, provided they bear a label inscribed with the words «democratic», «progressive», etc. They want this meeting to serve as a testimony to their first and sincere step towards integrating themselves into capitalism and to serving the capitalists of their country with devotion. The French supported this «genial discovery», provided such a meeting should take place after the one proposed by the Soviet revisionists.

All this shows that the Titoite trend was disposed not only to hinder the Soviet revisionists in their work in Budapest, but also to strive that the coming meeting demanded by the Soviet leaders should not take place. This revisionist wing is thus seeking to play in two fields: to exert pressure and blackmail on the Soviet revisionists, threatening them with a new revisionist grouping in the fold of modern revisionism and, at the same time, to gain still more credit and support of all kinds from the various capitalist groupings.

The cracks that took place in Budapest will cause further and great troubles to the Soviet revisionists. But, of course, the latter, too, will not remain with their arms folded. The consensus of revisionist opinion is that efforts must be made so that the «lost sheep» should return to the flock, either through lenient measures or through all sorts of pressure that the time could suggest and which would serve the preparation of the sham conference of «international communism» in Moscow.

It is a fact that the so-called «third position» that appeared

in Budapest and which has Tito behind it, seems to have divided the roles with its Belgrade boss to act in two special directions: one towards the camouflaged revisionists and the other towards the intermediate capitalist forces.

The Yugoslav Titoites who were not in Budapest, but as a Yugoslav commentator wrote, «many communist parties that will be represented in Budapest have views identical to ours», in spite of their great joy and broad publicity which they devote to similar occasions, this time are not making much noise about the new cracks of Budapest. This is not accidental, they do not want to jeopardize and embarrass their followers. Having compromised themselves as open agents of U.S. imperialism, they left it to the neo-Titoites to approach and win over the so-called «neutrals», «independents» and all the camouflaged revisionists in the «international communist movement». And now it is beyond doubt that the neo-Titoites enjoy the support of these so-called «neutrals» when they raise the question of and cry out loud for the «cessation of polemics, against holding a meeting which would encourage attacks on China and Albania, against allowing the Soviet leaders to decide what direction they pursue under whatever form it may be». They raise precisely the banner of these «neutrals», when they oppose the Soviet revisionists and demand that there should be held a conference but its aim should be the creation of a «broad anti-imperialist front» including the revisionists, communists, socialists, democrats, pacifists, etc., etc. In this way they come to the assistance of China's Khrushchov who used to support these viewpoints.

Finding themselves under blows from all sides and seeking to avoid a further deepening of the cracks on the revisionist front, the Soviet revisionists were compelled to assent to the invitation later on to an open meeting of all the parties of all shades, provided it is not mixed up with theirs, or does not eliminate the former as the Titoites, the Italians and others are demanding.

In this way, two general tendencies were crystallized in Budapest: one to hold the meeting proposed by the Soviet revisionists, and then, to probably, hold the other. The second tendency is that they should not hold the meeting proposed by the Soviets, but hold another one without polemics, without ideological questions, only one of pure form, against imperialism, a meeting to which everybody may come, even the Pope of Rome if he likes. The thesis of the Soviet re-

visionists prevailed and upon this the Budapest fair came to an end. But this does not mean that the problem of the coming meeting, its character, its agenda and the question as to who will participate in it has been definitely settled. Until it is convened, if it will take place at all, it is very possible that mutual concessions and compromises will take place again between rival groups, that it will have an entirely different aspect and direction from what its designers are now thinking.

Now, following the Budapest meeting, some of its participants who, being not fully at one with the Soviet revisionists on all questions, are throwing out their chests and posing as the «brave men of the fair» making endless statements, writing articles and adopting decisions to convince public opinion that their action and line are allegedly purely Marxist-Leninist. According to them the polemics against the class enemies and parties must cease, the revisionists must not be criticized either for their foreign policy or for their home policy, they should be left in peace to act as they like, whatever they do is their own business. And all this theroy, you see, is «living proletarian internationalism». In reality nothing can be more opportunist, more anti-Marxist and more anti-internationalist than this line of ceasing polemics. Lenin and Stalin, just as Marx and Engels, could not live even one minute without struggle, without polemics, without fighting most fiercely against the deviators and traitors to the cause of the proletariat and revolution. Their whole lives were nothing but an uninterrupted struggle, a polemics of the sharpest kind, of the most principled ones, against all the foes of communism.

It is an axiom for all the genuine communists that without struggle, without polemics there is no revolution, there is no Marxist-Leninist party, there is no socialism, there is no communism. But here are some gentlemen who pose as Leninists, and what Leninists indeed! Of the «purest» ones, who claim that there should be no more polemics, there should be no more criticism. This thesis was defended once also by Tito, when he was driven to the corner by the Informbureau for his treachery. At that time he rose allegedly against «interference» in the affairs of his party. By this he meant «leave me in peace to call myself a communist and to betray communism, leave me alone to become an agent of imperialism» as he in fact became.

Khrushchov, too, sought to pursue this road but could

not do it. His anti-Marxist mask of «ceasing the polemics» burned in his hands and his successors no longer try to use it. They prefer other tactics and means to reduce some people to silence, but their old tactics which are presented by some as new, do not work anymore. One cannot sit on two chairs for a long time. There cannot exist Marxist-Leninist communists that should cease the fight against the modern revisionists, in the same way as there cannot exist revisionists that should not fight against the Marxist-Leninists. Those who are now demanding to cease polemics and who preach the peaceful line are scared to death by the other revisionists and want at all costs, treason not excluded to have the aid and support of the capitalists. And the latter will give them this support because these «tactics», that is, the «middle line» in the labor movement serves their aims better.

The revisionists say that the aim of their meeting is the union of all the possible forces in struggle against imperialism, its aggresions, its threats, etc. but this is a deception of the most shameful ones, a base demagogy and a crude bluff. Of what fight against imperialism can the Soviet revisionists speak when they have made their alliance with the United States of America for the division of the zones of influence and the establishment of the domination of the two great powers of the world the most fundamental basis of their entire policy? Do they perhaps fight imperialism by undermining the struggle of the Vietnamese people and supporting the U.S. overtly and covertly for the enslavement of the Vietnamese people? Did they perhaps defend the Arab people against the imperialist aggression when they left them in the lurch at one of the most critical moments and by making bargainings behind the scene with their avowed enemies? Or do they claim to support the liberation of the peoples when they approve in the UNO the U.S. armed intervention to suppress the Dominican insurgents, or when they grant credits and sell arms to the Indonesian hangmen, the murderers of hundreds of thousands of communists and upright patriots?

The series of betrayals of the supreme interests of revolution and liberation of peoples committed by the revisionists is endless. The world is witnessing everyday hundreds of thousands of acts of rapprochement and collaboration of the Soviet revisionists with U.S. imperialism, but it has not witnessed a single action of theirs, be it detached, opposed to its aggressive policy. Let us not go too far in search of

examples. While in Budapest the Soviet revisionists were making demagogical appeals to unite on behalf of the fight against imperialism, their representatives in Geneva presented jointly with their U.S. colleagues at the 17 Nations Conference for the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons a joint declaration in connection with the guarantees which the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. allegedly give to non-nuclear countries that will sign the treaty. The anti-China direction, the efforts to preserve the monopoly of the nuclear weapons and to exert atomic blackmail on the peoples is something obvious. Of what anti-imperialism can one speak under these conditions?

«The anti-imperialism» of the revisionists has never been substantiated, it is an empty word, a mask to camouflage the collaboration with imperialism. It is a demagoguery with which they want to speculate, to deceive the peoples, to put out the flames of the war against imperialism which are spreading to all the continents.

At the Budapest meeting the Soviet revisionists could wrest from their partners the approval to go to Moscow for the meeting fixed to be held at the end of this year. The Kremlin leaders are now making a great fuss and flurry and are beating all their propaganda drums presenting this as a great success. But this «success» is a victory like that of Pyrrhus. Many of the revisionists, for one reason or another, do not like the meeting, but they are obliged to hold it, for they have been compelled under the pressure of our fight, of the fight of the Chinese Communist Party, of the Party of Labor of Albania, of the triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, of the creation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, of the upsurge of revolution and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples. They are compelled to place a cardboard barricade, a smokescreen, before these successes and this powerful march of Marxism-Leninism.

But every effort of theirs will be in vain, other greater defeats lie in store for them, still deeper splits will take place. The forthcoming Moscow meeting, too, will go to the waste basket as did the March 1965 meeting, that of Karlovy Vary and the Budapest meeting which just wound up its proceedings.

The decision of the revisionists to hold a general meeting of theirs is one thing, but what to raise there, how to raise

it, what to decide, how to decide and communicate it, let alone how to implement it, is another sad story for the modern revisionists and, in the first place, for the Soviet revisionists. There are those who decided in Budapest, but there are also those who did not go there. In the first place there is Tito whom the Soviet revisionists need very much, because if he remains outside he spoils their affairs, if he comes in he claims great concessions. The Soviet revisionists are compelled to make concessions to him, but not as many as Tito likes, for the latter demands both the keys and the house, mother and father and the title deed.

The not distant future will again confirm what our Party has stated — that the division, degeneration and failure of the modern revisionists are inevitable. There has not existed and can never exist unity between them. They can never restore order in their herd. History has shown that who raises his hand against Marxism-Leninism, who joins the enemies of the working class, the bourgeoisie against revolution and the liberation of the peoples is faced with utter defeat, with the shameful end of all the traitors. The revisionists are seeking to turn back the wheel of the historic development of society, but that wheel is ruthlessly smashing and crushing them under its heavy weight.

THE WORKING CLASS IN REVISIONIST COUNTRIES MUST TAKE THE FIELD AND RE-ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

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In all the countries where revisionists are in power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is being smashed and replaced by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the socialist regime is being replaced by the capitalist bourgeois regime and the party of the proletariat, degenerated from within, is now but a smokescreen to conceal this treason, to suppress the vigilance and legitimate revolt of the working class and of laboring people. The vigilance and legitimate violence of the working class against the class enemies is what scares to death the revisionists. It is the only force that can subdue them, it is the only way out from this disastrous situation in which socialism and communism find themselves today in the countries where the revisionists are in power. Thus, the revival and fanning of the flames of the proletarian revolution in these countries is the «sine qua non» of the road of salvation. No other road, as events have been unfolded and are rolling on, can be of any stable and lasting benefit to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. Any other course can serve only as a posture of compromise, harmful and temporary, with grave consequences for socialism.

It is only the working class at the head of the masses, it is only the working class headed by its real Marxist-Leninist party, it is only the working class through armed revolution, through violence, that can and must bury the traitorous revisionists.

All the countries where the revisionists are in power,

without exception, whether they are the vanguard, such as Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., or those that, with different masks, conceal and camouflage their revisionist, anti-Marxist line, have turned into capitalist bourgeois countries, or are rapidly going down into this dirty morass.

The main issue on the agenda of the revisionist traitorous cliques that are in power consists only in choosing the most reliable forms to attain the aim of restoring capitalism, of strengthening and stabilizing their positions, without arousing the suspicion and awakening the vigilance of the working class and laboring people in order to avoid any setbacks, disturbances and, finally, to be in a position to suppress revolution when it breaks out. This is the essence of the revisionists' quandary.

The other item on the agenda for them, within the framework of this disintegration, to attain the purpose of restoring capitalism, consists in the efforts of each clique to escape the tutelage of the most powerful and yet to have its aid in general, particularly when they see their positions are weak. With this is connected the degree of interdependence, while the more powerful among them is seeking to dominate the trends and channel them towards the interest of the big State. Of course, such a thing cannot work out successfully for all parties or continually.

Another item on the agenda of these cliques is the tendency and the great care to find different means of camouflaging the diversity of forms of action, which, sometimes, are more advanced and less camouflaged than those of the fellow cliques. These «pioneers» serve the capitalist forces which inspire the revisionist cliques to instigate others to speed up the course as much as possible, to break the resistance of those revisionist cliques which, out of necessity, are more conservative because the sword of Damocles — the proletarian revolution — hangs over the heads of them all.

The revisionists are seeking to camouflage all the counter-revolutionary actions for the seizure of power and the efforts they are making to consolidate this power, by creating and inculcating into the minds of the working class the illusion that their «Marxist-Leninist» party is allegedly in power, that it is itself directing all this development and transformation along the «real road of socialism and communism». This is the most dangerous disguise, by which the revisionists are

seeking to ward off the decisive blows of the working class. Therefore, they try to tell the working class that every criticism, every revolt or opposition to their revisionist course is an anti-Marxist deviation, is a crime against Leninism, against socialism, against the party of the working class. The revisionists inject this dose of opium through the press and their false propaganda, complete fabrication in itself, they inject it by depriving the party, in theory and practice, of all revolutionary characteristics; they inject it by making an allegedly Marxist interpretation of every political, economic and administrative action of theirs in the direction of the restoration of capitalism. This false interpretation of their foreign policy, of their relations, alliances and their underhand dealings with the capitalists is also necessary to the revisionists in order to suppress the vigilance of the working masses of their respective countries.

In all these cunning actions the revisionists set in motion the new corrupted class of bureaucrats who impose upon the working class and the masses through the force of their regime, their length of service, their rotten hearts hidden under rows of medals. Thus they create the impression in the working class that «it impossible that all these 'fine fellows' could betray the party, the class and socialism».

Let us draw some lessons, some conclusions from this revisionist counter-revolution.

Let us start with Hungary. In the euphoria of the advent to power of Khrushchovite revisionism, but at a moment when it had not yet consolidated its positions, world capitalism, its Titoite agency and the internal Magyar reactionary bourgeoisie launched the armed counter-revolution against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Workers' Party of Hungary, thinking it was the weakest link of the chain of the socialist countries. And so it was indeed. Rakosi's party melted away like snow in rain. But world capitalism and Titoism had not chosen the correct moment: they were convinced of Khrushchov's treacherous line, but they did not take account of the fact that his positions were not yet stabilized and, although he hesitated to resort to tanks, he was finally obliged to do so. Otherwise his road of treason could have been compromised. But in connection with the Hungarian counter-revolution the following facts must be pointed out:

1. The Hungarian counter-revolution was initiated by some intellectuals and students. These wavering strata, depri-

ved of the influence of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, became reserves and squads of the counter-revolutionary attack under the direction of the bourgeoisie. The Hungarian writers were in the van of this counter-revolution.

2. The Hungarian working class in general and that of Budapest in particular, despite the revolutionary traditions inherited from the 1919 proletarian revolution, was unable to defend its power and gains. On the contrary, a considerable part of the working class, especially in Budapest, was activated in favour of the counter-revolutionaries. It became therefore a reserve of reaction. This means, in other words, that the work of Rakosi's party was not well grounded, it was superficial. The working class did not fully recognize it as their leader. This was the greatest and most dangerous evil.

3. The counter-revolution entirely liquidated Rakosi's party within a few days, while counter-revolutionary Janos Kadar promulgated the decree for its official dissolution.

4. During the few days of counter-revolution in Hungary many bourgeois, capitalist and fascist parties immediately cropped up like mushrooms after rain.

Thus, the Hungarian counter-revolution was suppressed by means of Soviet tanks, a thing which can no longer be repeated. The same traitor who liquidated the party, under the dictate of the Khrushchovite revisionists, promulgated the other decree for the re-founding of the new allegedly «Marxist-Leninist» party, the Hungarian revisionist party, a still worse one than that of Rakosi.

The Hungarian counter-revolution was suppressed by the counter-revolutionaries. Thus, both wings of the putsch were bound to come together, as they did. They would build up their own «Hungary», as they did build it. They would restore capitalism, as they are restoring it. Drawing lessons from the bloodshed and, after having paid a bloody ransom for its hasty actions, Hungarian reaction is now carrying out at leisure its reforms of radical capitalist transformation independently and without any trouble from the Soviet forces and tanks which remain on Hungarian territory. The Hungarian bourgeoisie is, so to speak, going about its business, this time under the protection of the Khrushchov tanks. The Hungarian capitalist bourgeoisie, hostile to the working class, disguised under the «banner of the party», is lulling the working class to sleep while forging new chains for it. The capitalist bourgeoisie has as its vanguard the old and

new revisionist intelligentsia in complete identity of views and unity of action.

Let us take Poland. As in Hungary, in Poland, too, in 1956 bloody demonstrations started in Poznan and were suppressed by tanks, this time Polish and not Soviet tanks. The Polish Church and reaction had a hand in it and Khrushchov was afraid of Poland detaching itself completely from the Soviet Union; therefore he threatened Gomulka with a tanks invasion but Gomulka resisted and Khrushchov, willy-nilly, smiled and embraced «the fascist Gomulka», as he used to describe him behind his back.

But now, in recent days, events in Poland are unfolding otherwise. They have taken another aspect which is characteristic of all the revisionist countries. In Poland there have started demonstrations, clashes, bloody encounters between Gomulka's police and the writers, intelligentsia and students who are remanding «freedom», «full democracy», liberalism». This time, the Polish counter-revolutionaries who have risen against the Gomulka revisionist counter-revolutionaries, greet and express solidarity with the Czechoslovak counter-revolutionaries. The Polish reactionary intelligentsia, directed by world capitalism, by the clergy and by Zionism are not satisfied with the Gomulka revisionist clique and want to make short work of them, as the new Dubcek Slovak clique are doing with the Novotny revisionist clique who will be referred to below. In Poland, as it was in Hungary, the reactionary intelligentsia and the students are in the van of the claims, the party organisation is worm-eaten, the organs of the dictatorship are, for the time being, in the service of the Gomulka clique and the working class does not react, it does not come out in the street to do the necessary cleaning. Will the Gomulka clique be able to subdue this tide which is rising? We shall see. But of importance is the last tide which must be prepared to wipe from Poland's face all the overt and covert traitors. This salutary tide will be the proletarian revolution of the Polish working class led by the Polish Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist).

Let us take Czechoslovakia. The Soviet revisionists used to trumpet abroad that Czechoslovakia was their most powerful bastion, the most faithful country of the revisionists, and Antonin Novotny the most intimate, «the most earnest and most authoritative man» of the revisionist clan, next to the Soviets. These claims, too, as we had forecast,

came to nothing, not because Novotny and his revisionist clique were not a faithful agency of the Khrushchovites, but because they could not carry out the orders that the Moscow bosses used to give them. As a matter of fact, the dead horse of the Soviets, Antonin Novotny, sank into the revisionist mire which he himself created, while the other horse replacing him Dubcek, has taken the bit in his teeth and is now bolting towards the western «fields», where the gates of the French and West-German capitalists are standing open for him like the old chapters of their ill-famed agents Masaryk, Benes, Tiso, Hacha, and others.

How is the new counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia unfolding? Openly, against Antonin Novotny and his clique, consequently against the Soviet revisionist yoke.

They are openly going over to capitalism, to the system of one or more parties, to the capitalist State system and the undisguised liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the capitalist system in economy, education and culture.

They are openly preaching not only coexistence, but solid ties with the western capitalists. Homage is being paid at the grave of Masaryk, father and son, at the grave of Benes, who are all being noisily rehabilitated, even the fascists, and all of them are being described as «distinguished men», victims of the «Stalinist terror» and of the erroneous policy not only of the Novotny clique, but also of Gottwald, thus, of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of course, «of Stalin, of the Comintern».

In short, Czechoslovakia is going at a rapid tempo and without much subterfuge and demagogy towards capitalism, to the complete political, ideological, economic and State restoration of the capitalist bourgeois republic.

By what means and forms is this process unfolding? The Czechoslovak process should not be taken separately from all the processes which are taking place in the entire revisionist herd. This is the result of the disintegration, of the great contradictions which exist within the revisionist clan, within the different tendencies existing in the clan of each individual revisionist country, of the international contradictions. Thus, the Czechoslovak disintegration and the course it has taken are nothing extraordinary. Nothing should surprise us. This is quite normal.

So is the overt manner of their actions, and this for two reasons: on the one hand a part of the Czechoslovak people,

indeed of the Czechoslovak working class also, are prepared, are predisposed for this «liberal» road, as the revisionists call it. Communism has been for them a mere label, an incident, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, during the whole period from Liberation onward has not only failed to work on solid grounds, but in fact it has made little impression on the nature, the political inclinations, the political and cultural gusto and taste of a part of the people who even under the socialist regime were preserving and developing capitalist bourgeois feelings in accentuated forms.

On the other hand, the new Czechoslovak course towards capitalism proves the further rottenness of the power of Soviet revisionism which, plunged in the morass it has itself created, is no longer able to threaten its opponents either politically or economically or even militarily. It has become a slave of the system and treachery it created. The Soviet revisionists are obliged to give a sickly smile at the calamities which are descending on them. The further Czechoslovak revisionist course now enjoys the full support not only of the U.S., French and West-German imperialists, but, of course, of the Titoites, of the «neutral» revisionists and, «in petto», of the Hungarian revisionists as well. A more or less organized force is taking shape, always within the framework of the disintegration of and «independence» from the Soviet, Polish and other revisionists who are very much afraid of the spread of the epidemic which has led to the clearing out of the stables and replacing the old revisionist horses with new ones.

The new Czech counter-revolutionaries resort to new and multilateral methods. They attach great importance to the complete taking into their hands of the internal situation, without neglecting the foreign policy. Naturally, for demagogical purposes, they often speak of friendship with the Soviet Union, in order to completely undermine it. Their principal aim is the liquidation of Novotny and of his clique which is pro the Soviet revisionist leadership, and the reduction of the relations with the Soviet Union to mere trade relations. The campaign for the liquidation of Novotny, for his exposure, for compromising him, and, finally, for his removal, was made in a round-about way. In the van of this campaign were the Slovak nationalist and their anti-Czech feelings, the old bourgeois intellectuals and the new revisionist ones

as well as the students and hooligans, who came out repeatedly in demonstrations.

The Novotny group and their Kremlin bosses set the police against them but to no avail. Novotny, feeling the noose tightening around his neck, called the tanks to Prague, copying the method of Khrushchov who surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and, thus, saved his head. But Novotny could not attain this aim and lost his case, perhaps his head, too.

The Dubcek group, to cover their aims, are resorting to apparently legal forms to purge the Novotny clique. First of all, this group made sure of the army through faithful cadres, framed up the deflection of a certain army general, discredited Novotny, Defence Minister Lomsky, and set in motion the «obedient» party, through petitions, rallies and student demonstrations, to demand Novotny's immediate removal or resignation. The whole of this operation is being very quickly carried out, quietly and without strife, amidst the frantic applause of world capitalism to whose fold a scabby goat has thus returned.

What will the Soviets do? Nothing but to take Novotny for their collection, if he is available, and install him also in a villar near Rakosi's.

After this purge, in Czechoslovakia they will strive to stabilize the situation and march triumphantly towards the West. Nevertheless, the whole situation will not end at that. There will be great frictions and fierce political and economic struggle both on the part of the revisionists as well as on that of the Czechoslovak revolutionaries.

In these two countries, Poland and Czechoslovakia, where the revisionists are in power, the same process of capitalist degeneration is thus taking place, with the same aims, forms and methods, but with different fates, with different results. In both countries, the new revisionist cliques which want to speed up the process of the transformation of their countries into completely capitalist countries, are striving to get rid of the Novotny and Gomulka revisionist cliques, of these old revisionist cliques.

The anti-Czech and chauvinistic Slovak feelings, the radical transformation of the Czechoslovak economy into a capitalist economy, the radical transformation of the present Czechoslovak structure and super-structure which are favorable to the return to capitalism, the more active, broader economic,

cultural and political ties with capitalist States, the anti-Soviet feelings, the weakening of all the ties with the Soviet revisionists — all of these inspire and guide the new Czechoslovak revisionist clique led by Dubcek.

The old clique and the inveterate revisionist Novotny are now isolated, smashed. Everybody leaves the sinking ship and embraces the «new road». Thus, the counter-revolution within the counter-revolution fully triumphed in Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet revisionists have lost their political authority completely in Czechoslovakia and their influence has suffered a decline. To be sure, the Soviet revisionists, as far as we know them, must have exerted great pressures to avoid their own disaster in Czechoslovakia, but they have been unable to do anything, and this gives reason to believe that the Dubcek clique are determined to advance on their road towards separation. They enjoy the guarantee of the West. The Soviets will exert economic pressures, they will stop supplying the raw materials needed by Czechoslovakia, but it is clear that the Czechoslovaks have also envisaged this eventuality and have taken and will take further measures. The interests of world capitalism are visible in Central Europe and Czechoslovakia is its epicenter.

On the other hand, capitalist Czechoslovakia strengthens the capitalist positions of Tito and his friends, helps in the complete transformation of Kadar's Hungary, with him or without him at its head; it helps the process in Poland.

The whole of this situation which is being created in Central Europe will smash the Warsaw Treaty and the Economic Mutual Aid Council, it will lead to bilateral and multilateral alliances, in an entirely different spirit from that of the existing ones, and the Economic Mutual Aid Council and the economic relations will change. They will be suppressed, they will assume new forms leading to amalgamation with the capitalist ones.

This whole capitalist transformation jeopardizes Democratic Germany, and the revisionists will push it, in various forms and ways, towards its integration with Bonn's Germany. This process is underway. The Soviet revisionists are entirely paralyzed. Economic pressures are the only weapons, remaining to them. But these, too, have no effect. Capitalism has great interests in financing those who separate themselves from the Soviet Union and turn towards the West. It disposes of capital for investments,

it looks for new markets, for new colonies and new satellites.

Thus, having not profited much from the allegedly internationalist aid of the Soviet revisionists, the new revisionist capitalists are changing their bus.

This great Soviet defeat is reflected in the embarrassing position in which they find themselves at home. For a long time these separations have been taking place, and the Soviet censorship has not permitted that domestic opinion should learn anything about them. This shows how they fear their own people, the revolutionaries, as well as the new revisionist, lest the latter, affected by the Czechoslovak disease, may burst forth in the streets against the clique, to overthrow and replace it with another revisionist clique. In this case Kosygin and Brezhnev will act in the same way as the clan of revisionist Gomulka is acting in Poland.

The same process as in Czechoslovakia started also in Poland but, for the time being, with different results. The Gomulka clan temporarily checked this process, not because Gomulka is more intelligent than Novotny, but because the circumstances are somewhat different in Poland, and that is why Gomulka's tactics are different and may appear «more clever».

In Czechoslovakia it started with the writers and students, but amongst them there was prevailing, in addition to everything else, the Slovak nationalist anti-Czech feeling and the Czech nationalist anti-Slovak feeling. The rest was complementary, except the anti-Soviet and pro-Western feelings which were in common.

The process started in the same way in Poland, with the same tendencies, ideas and aims as in Czechoslovakia. The Gomulka clan resorted also to police violence, as Novotny had done, but had better success. Poland is not made up of two peoples, as is the case in Czechoslovakia, therefore, that factor which played a role in Czechoslovakia did not serve as an instigator in Poland. Gomulka had to find a scapegoat as an object for violence and he found it in «Zionism». Thus, «the disturbances in Poland were created by Zionism». Gomulka does not mention the Church, because that might increase the danger of the revolt swelling and taking larger proportions. Gomulka is trying to keep the Church out of it and, in fact, the Church did not step into the arena, although, at other times, it used to make appeals and fiery demonstrations against Gomulka. It seems that

they have come to terms until this tide passes away. On the other hand, Gomulka, rabidly anti-Soviet, defends himself at these moments under the shadow of the Soviet revisionists who, in the final analysis, when they realize that they have lost everything in Poland, anyway may even dare to intervene, allegedly to save Poland, allegedly to keep the roads open to come to the «assistance» of East Germany, etc.

Willi Brandt, on his part, at his party's Congress, declared that «it is normal to recognize the Oder-Neisse borders». This was an offer to Poland to detach itself from the Soviets, it was allegedly reliance on the people, on Gomulka's «persistent» policy on the German-Polish borders and, finally, it was an attempt to complete the encirclement of East Germany and to form the «cordon sanitaire» around the capitalist Soviet Union.

All these circumstances of anti-Judaism, anti-Sovietism, etc., resulted in that the process of capitalism in Poland should continue according to Gomulka. But this is temporary. The problem is still on the order of the day.

The Polish revolutionaries, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Poland, the people and the working class, have not yet had their say. Gomulka even led into demonstrations part of the working class. This shows how ill-defined the situation is there, how much work must be done by the new Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Poland to lead the working class to real understanding, to class, anti-capitalist, anti-revisionist positions, against Gomulka, against the Roman Catholic Church, against the Zionists.

There are also allegedly neutral countries and parties which develop the revisionist course towards capitalism in comparatively calm internal situations, without noisy demonstrations, but certainly with accentuated contradictions in the leadership, among the people and in the party, which now appear in unity. This sham unity is the fruit of external fear and, in the first place, of fear of the Soviet revisionists who have their own men within the leadership of these parties. But these «neutral» countries and parties are ruled over by cliques of bourgeois intellectuals who rely actively on the anti-Soviet feelings. Therefore, a little differently from the Czechoslovaks, these revisionists lay the stress on foreign policy, on relations with the capitalist states, with Tito's Yugoslavia, with Dubcek's Czechoslovakia, to counter-balance the Soviet revisionist danger. In these circumstances

these cliques are purging their internal opponents who might endanger them and are making efforts to consolidate their bourgeois regimes which are being established in their countries by liquidating socialism.

Let us now take the Soviet Union. The Khrushchovite degeneration of the Soviet Union, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as far back as in the last years of Nikita Khrushchov's reign and later in a more accentuated manner, posed great dangers to the Kremlin clique. It not only further deepened the contradictions of this clique with the Soviet people, but it also created a section of new revisionists, opponents to the old revisionist clique, who aim at liquidating and replacing this clique with another of its kind, which would be more liberal and speed up the process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The garbage of the grabages were not satiated and manifested their dissatisfaction and advanced further demands. At their head, here too, were the bourgeoisified intellectuals and writers, the men of revisionist art and culture. Dissipation had deeply penetrated into the youth, the students, the hooligans. This was assuming disturbing forms for the clique. Khrushchov himself reacted several times after having felt the danger, not from fact that they were demanding to head towards capitalism, but because they were demanding to go there without Khrushchov, with others, more by the means of efforts and deeds than by buffoonries and irregular methods.

The clique who succeeded Khrushchov tried to do something better than their boss. They linked themselves more closely and more securely with U.S. imperialism, thus further undermining the party, the socialist economy, increasing the degeneration outside and inside. But all this activity was bound also to create difficulties for and tremendous contradictions within the clique itself. The Soviet economy declined, the prestige of the Soviet Union reached its lowest ebb, the «friends» of the Soviet Union deserted it one after another, the alliances assumed purely capitalist, oppressive, empty and ridiculous forms and content. The resistance to the clique increased from all directions. Not to speak of the international arena, at home the Brezhnev-Kosygin group find themselves in the midst of many fires which are difficult to put out. Revisionist intellectuals, writers, students have increased their demonstrations of protest and the Kremlin clique are

obliged to arrest and jail. Thus, the jails and concentration camps are filled to capacity, not only with revolutionaries but also with young counter-revolutionaries.

In the Soviet Union the proletarian revolution is, certainly, being organized and on the rise. The clique are afraid of this and they strike back, try to deceive and to neutralize as best they can the party of the class and the working class itself making them believe that it is allegedly their «Leninist» party which leads, that «everything proceeds along Leninist lines and with Leninist norms», and so on. Amongst these illusions we should also include those «historically realistic ideas» on Stalin which certain career-seeking, degenerate army generals and marshals have started to write with a view to throwing dust on the eyes of the masses and of genuine revolutionaries. But the Bolshevik revolutionaries and the Soviet working class are not to be deceived for long. They are becoming more and more aware that, in reality, power is being wielded by a clique of renegades and their bureaucratic anti-worker administration, that the party has been transformed into a bourgeois party and the dictatorship is a bourgeois dictatorship of the new capitalist class which oppresses the masses and the working class, exploits them economically for the benefit of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, does not allow them for a single moment to demonstrate their power and to demand their rights. The efforts of the revisionists to make the working class apolitical, to remove it from the political scene and to orientate it towards economism, will fail.

Thus, as we see, all these processes have similar features, at present more visible and noisy in Czechoslovakia and in Poland, later on in Hungary and elsewhere as well. These processes will further increase the appetite of the Soviet revisionist reactionary intellectuals, and we shall witness clashes not only between them and the ruling clique, but also between the moderate intellectuals and their right-wing extremists, between the genuine Marxist-Leninist intellectuals and both the ruling clique and the two tendencies we mentioned. And, finally, the Russian Ivan will wake up from his heavy slumber. The Soviet working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, must come out and will come out in the streets to have their say. They will bang their fist on the table and stage a second proletarian revolution. We are convinced that this will certainly happen, because it is a dialectical process that is bound to take place,

the circumstances, the events and their unfolding making the situation ripe to this effect. When will it occur? This is not for us to decide.

Learning from this course of events in revisionist countries, from the tactics, the forms and methods of the struggle waged by the modern revisionists against Marxism-Leninism, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the working class, its party and the socialist regime, in addition to what we have analyzed at other times, our Party has derived clear-cut tasks so as never to allow modern revisionism or any other anti-Marxist disease to affect the healthy body and mind of the party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

With regard to revisionist degeneration in certain countries, mention must be made of some typical characteristics common to all the revisionist parties.

The working class, in the first place, and then all the working masses were indeed caught unawares. They did not react immediately and energetically against the treason committed against their great cause, which they had won and consolidated with so much bloodshed and sacrifice. The treacherous elements who usurped power in the party and in the State, not only at the beginning of their subversive activity, when they knew how to hide and organize themselves, but even later, when their attitude and their treacherous actions had become conspicuous, did not meet with any fierce resistance on the part of the working class and its party which, on the contrary, accepted the yoke of the traitors without great objections or, even when they reacted, they did it half-heartedly. The party and the working class, in the first place, had lost their vigilance and the intensity of the violence which characterize and must always characterize them in the class struggle, in the struggle against all and every enemy of their class and of socialism.

Why does this happen and what causes this apathy, this withering away of vigilance and of the use of violence taking place not only in communist parties with a short period of revolutionary probation, but also in the oldest and biggest party with a long period of revolutionary probation, as is the case with the Bolshevik Party?

In general, there is nothing mysterious about this occurrence, but in this article we will point out some causes

which appear to us as the principal and, at the same time, the most dangerous to a Marxist-Leninist party.

Let us consider this question in relation with the Bolshevik Party, the oldest and staunchest revolutionary party, from whose achievements as well as from whose errors we have learned.

First and above all stands the question of the Party itself. It is here we must look for the shortcomings and errors which so tragically contributed to the emergence of revisionism and the seizure of power on the part of the Khrushchovite traitors in the Soviet Union.

a) Surprising as this may seem, *the political and ideological education of the Bolshevik Party was not always carried out at each stage at the intensity and depth required by the circumstances.* Such education moreover had weaknesses of form and of method and, sometimes, also of content. Although it was talked about, the integration of theory with actual revolutionary practice was not carried out as much and in the way it should have been done to the whole of its extent, placing politics in the forefront in the direction of the revolutionization of men and women, keeping alive the proletarian revolutionary spirit of the whole party, ensuring the understanding and implementing of the party line by everybody and in everything in a revolutionary way. It is true that if it were a question of schools, training courses, forms, means, methods, etc, where one could get educated politically and ideologically, these existed in the Soviet Union. The same thing could be said with regard to the training and education of the cadres. The question isn't that in the Soviet Union the study of the infallible Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory was neglected, but something caused the political and ideological education to be defective. And this lay not only in the forms, the methods and the tempo which, as we said above, meant that the theory was not properly mastered and correctly put into practice. There was also a complex of other things that contributed negatively.

b) *The implementation of the norms of the Bolshevik Party or, to put it better, their deep ideological and political understanding and their actual carrying out in a revolutionary way were not up to the mark.* All these norms were correct. They were laid down and established through a

titanic struggle by Lenin. They were affirmed, defended and carried out by Stalin. But in actual life, in the process of development in the practice of work and struggle, we see these norms, which at first were properly implemented, later falling into disuse, becoming rusty and, finally, distorted and turned into a sharp and very dangerous weapon in the hands of the enemies of the class and of the party. This was the case with all the revisionist parties. *In these parties, they speak loudly of democratic centralism, but that is Leninist no longer. They speak of «Bolshevik» criticism and self-criticism, but they are Bolshevik no longer. They speak of party discipline, but it is no longer a Leninist, but a fascist discipline; of proletarian morality, but the morality is bourgeois, anti-proletarian, anti-Marxist; of free expression of opinions in the Party, about everything and everybody, but the expression of thoughts in the party spirit, in the proletarian spirit, in the revisionist countries leads to jail and concentration camps. The same may be said with regard to all the genuine Leninist party norms. Thus, the official norms, irrespective of how they are disguised, are anti-Leninist, they are bourgeois, reactionary, fascist norms. Such a departure from the Leninist norms, which make up the strength of the party as a steel-like vanguard organisation of the proletariat, and the adoption of the revisionist norms, is the greatest evil that can befall a Marxist-Leninist party. It is a terrible weapon degenerating and disintegrating the party, making it depart from its historic role of transforming society. It is a fact that this turning back has been already carried out on this issue in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist parties, irrespective of the fact that not all the Soviet communists approve and observe these anti-Leninist norms. It is indisputable that the revisionist norms actually prevail in this party and in other revisionist parties and are disrupting the parties and socialism in these countries.*

Now the question arises: had the Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology been rightly understood and implemented, as we said above, had the Leninist party norms, established in the Bolshevik party by the great classics Lenin and Stalin, been implemented in a correct revolutionary way and at all times, would there have happened what did actually happen? No. That would not have happened. But it did happen for the reasons given above and those we will set out below.

c) The Communist Party, as a vanguard and organized detachment of the working class, must be the leader, the spearpoint; it must preserve, develop and temper the best virtues of the working class, it must be the first to correctly master and implement the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. It must be vigilant to the extreme and unyielding to the class enemy. And in order to be such, it must possess, understand and carry out the Leninist norms that make it a party of the class, capable of leading the working class and their allies towards their class goal. This is a great unity, not any sort of unity but such as we call a Marxist-Leninist unity, a Marxist-Leninist unity within the party, unity of views and action on the basis of the Leninist norms, unity between the grassroots of the party and its leadership, unity within the leadership itself, an iron Marxist-Leninist unity between the party and the working class, a steel-like, harmonious party-working class-people unity. And in this unity taken as a whole the fundamental idea, its basis and security is the party-working class unity, is the determined leadership of the working class headed by its party inspired, tempered, enlightened by its Marxist-Leninist ideology.

This unity is not established either in one day or in one year. It is tempered in the heat of various struggles and dangers with which the class enemy faces them, resorting to all means, objective and subjective, political and ideological, to repression and terror, coercive measures and economic disturbance, open corruption and illegal subversive activity against the working class in general, against their party as an organization, against the party members and State functionaries, the mass organizations in particular.

We shall not dwell at length on these issues, we shall only point out, first, that the preservation of unity and its tempering are not something achieved once for ever and the communists should not rest on their laurels. Second, that unity in the social-democratic manner, unity «of comrades», outside the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the party, unity «not to upset» the one or the other, allowing the violation of norms and principles, is not our unity. Our unity is not a unity for unity's sake, contravening principles. Our unity, to the large extent we mentioned, is created through struggle, is tempered through struggle and is preserved

through continued and consistent revolutionary struggle. Otherwise there cannot exist Marxist-Leninist unity.

In the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Stalin there did exist unity. Struggle was energetically waged to temper this unity, but it cannot be said that perfection had been reached in everything, for that would be a denial of the class struggle, within and outside the country, within the party ranks, that would make us forget the class enemy whose only aim it is to smash the unity, to infiltrate into the organs of the party and of the dictatorship, to riddle them with worms and destroy them, to infiltrate into the consciousness and the worldoutlook of the communists, to demoralize them and cause them to degenerate.

Thus, in the Lenin-Stalin Bolshevik Party — and this is proved by the successes in the up-building of socialism, in the construction of the first powerful socialist State in the world,—they were advancing on the correct Leninist road. Stalin, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, fought correctly, vigorously, with deep understanding and without committing theoretical and political errors, on the road of the working class, relying on the Leninist Party, on its norms, for the aims of the class and of its party, which were the building of socialism and of communism in the Soviet Union and in the world.

However, the question arises: if this is so, then why did the Bolshevik Party degenerate, after Stalin's death, into a revisionist party? This is a reasonable question to pose, and in order to be able to answer it, one must discover the objective and subjective reasons. We have already pointed out in other writings that this is as important a question as it is difficult to treat fully and without mistakes, if we do not base ourselves on the documents, especially the internal ones, of the Bolshevik Party, documents which we do not possess and can hardly possess, especially in the present situation. But our ideology and the experience of our party and of the other parties can help us to determine some of these reasons. We say some, because there are and must be many more. But even these thoughts may not be complete.

Thus, it turns out that gradually, without being aware of it and relying on the great successes of the realization of the socialist construction, *there was created among the party cadres and among those of the socialist State a certain self-complacency and legitimate pride, which made them,*

inadvertently and without knowing it, turn from their correct forms towards distorted, incorrect inclinations which were basically incompatible with proletarian morality. Marxist ideology and education condemned them in principle and in practice, when they manifested themselves in a flagrant and dangerous way, but in general these trends were developing and were not considered as dangerous. They were interweaving with the party norms and gradually gave the latter also such anti-Marxist tinge. They intensified later and, interwoven with other non-proletarian customs, promoted the dangerous complex.

The members of the Bolshevik Party, who were led to legendary battles by Lenin and Stalin, were cadres of a class origin and with revolutionary vigor, tempered in revolution, in struggles, in the building of socialism, in battles against Trotskyism, against deviators and other traitors. They were ideologically and politically tempered and had a firm and legitimate confidence in their glorious Bolshevik Party, in Lenin and Stalin, in the correct line and norms that they had mapped out.

To them the party was everything, it was their heart, brain and eyes, that is why they were defending it, were educated by it and by their great leader. *But while trying to carry out the Party's and Stalin's correct line and norms, the Soviet cadres, at first not all of them and not in a clear-cut way but gradually, became susceptible to a feeling of stability which is alien, in the revolutionary sense, to development.* So long as they held lower level functions, the cadres worked zealously to serve the cause of revolution in the best possible manner strictly implementing the party norms and line, maintaining close connections with the masses and with the working class. But in the long run, when the initial difficulties had been overcome, when the indispensable ideological and political and general education and culture had been acquired, having grown older and having gained seniority in the party, certain people began to be affected by the germ of the evil. *Successes at work nourished the feeling of self-complacency and, parallel with these successes, the Soviet cadres began to lose their proletarian simplicity, raised unjust claims, which they considered «politically legitimate», because these people had worked and fought. With their rise to responsibility there was taking shape in them the feeling of ease and complacency and they were ever more infected by bureaucratism,*

intellectualism and technocratism. Thus, gradually, between the cadres of the Bolshevik Party and Soviet State, on the one hand, and the masses of the Soviet people and working class, on the other, there was created a separation and inequality. Many cadres no longer listened, as they had done previously, to the voice of the masses. Among them the thought began to prevail that they knew everything themselves, that they were specialists in everything, that they stood above the masses, above the working class politically and ideologically and were more farsighted than the latter. The authority and prestige which the Bolshevik Party and Stalin enjoyed among the masses of the Soviet people and in the working class were confounded by these cadres with their personal authority and prestige. All these anti-proletarian features deformed the revolutionary concepts among these cadres. As this also infected the party line and its implementation, the revolutionary norms of the party remained formal, the life of the party itself and its organization as well as the whole Soviet State administration were in the process of becoming sclerotic.

Therefore, the development, the endowment with education and culture of the cadres of the party, of the State and administration is one of the most important problems, but the primary and still greater duty is their political and ideological development and their permanent revolutionization.

The danger of the bureaucratization of the cadres and of their being imbued with formal education and culture only, can create in them a feeling of superiority and arrogance, causes the features of intellectualism and technocratism to take root in them. The growth of these ideas progressively places them above the masses of the party and the class and thus gradually a situation is created in which one stratum rules over the class and its proletarian party, scleroses the party and its revolutionary norms, makes them lifeless, propagates them without zeal, deprives them of their revolutionary influence and action. Hence develops the separation from the masses and from the control of the working class.

If the party and the working class fails to display their special and constant care for the ideological uplift of the cadres, not only through bookish methods, but through actions in daily and uninterrupted struggle, their rise to leading positions, their educational and cultural unevenness with the great bulk of the party and with that of the working

class, the long period of probation in the party or in the State organs, the great disparity in salaries (a dangerous evil this) and the privileges to which they are allegedly entitled as cadres (another dangerous evil) spoil the cadre, incite him to progressively adopt, willy-nilly, features which are not of the proletarian class. While such a phenomenon may occur with the cadres of worker origin and conditions, this danger is greater among those coming from the peasantry and the intelligentsia. *The party of the working class must bring up the cadres in such a way that they may advance and be promoted to posts of responsibility, but they should also rightly understand, when necessary their stepping down from posts of responsibility, and this not only in cases when they do not prove themselves capable and active for the function with which they are charged or for errors in work and in life, but also in cases where they are capable and accomplish their tasks correctly. The cadres should be educated to realize that, even when they are efficient, their departure from responsible functions and their going to work among the working class and the laboring masses is a necessity. It is to the advantage of the cadres themselves and of the party, for the present and in the future.*

The three features we mentioned above — bureaucratism, intellectualism and technocratism — caused within the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State a failure to appreciate the heroic revolutionary spirit of the times. At first this insidious disease did not openly attack the correct party line. The cadres remained faithful to it and to Stalin. They were ready to go through fire for him, because Stalin was a man of the class. With his Marxist-Leninist class clarity, he did not commit errors of principle, politics or in ideology, in economy or in the military field. He faithfully defended everything Leninist. He developed Leninism further.

But in this stagnation which was gradually building up, although the Stalinist energy of the party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat was still pushing the work ahead, the party work was becoming stereotyped and inflexible. The norms were being implemented but not with revolutionary vigor. The line was being carried out but not at that revolutionary tempo. Marxism-Leninism was being taught but in such a way that it was unable to purge these dangerous inclinations. Many high party and State cadres, proud of their diplomas, were, so to speak, viewing the situation from above, and

especially from the petty-bourgeois feeling of all-round superiority. They had come to believe that this was something natural, that they were superior to the bulk of the party. They were assuming the features of a class above the class and above the party. They considered themselves infallible because they were in the leadership, because they enjoyed seniority, because they possessed knowledge, thinking as if it were they who brought sunshine and rain. All these anti-Marxist viewpoints were developing willy-nilly, under cover of the party norms. These people spoke of democratic centralism, of criticism and self-criticism, of party discipline, of elections from below, but all these things had lost their revolutionary spirit. *And what could all this bring about? The gradual separation of the leadership from the bulk of the party and of the party from the working class. Thus, in essence, that Marxist-Leninist unity which we mentioned above was getting weaker. Stalin forged the Leninist unity and fought for it, notwithstanding the stagnation. After his death it was proved that in the leadership and in the Bolshevik party this unity was split and the revisionists seized power.*

Khrushchov and his traitorous companions had been working even when Stalin was alive, but certainly in a very camouflaged form. After Stalin's death, profiting by the situation that had been created, they took power. They sought and are seeking to preserve the whole of the negative process and deepen it still more, carrying out the complete transformation toward capitalism and towards the liquidation of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. The attack on Stalin was the attack on Leninism, on Marxism-Leninism, that is why they have made and are making short work of those whom they call Stalinists and, masquerading as Leninists, they are striving every passing day to deepen the process of liquidating the party as a Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat and to isolate the Soviet working class, to lull it to sleep, to make it amorphous and apolitical, so as to avoid the blows which it may deal at them.

Of course, there are other reasons too, but we think that those we have mentioned caused the working class of the Soviet Union and hundreds of thousands and millions of Soviet party and State cadres to be caught unawares. They thought and are thinking (for they are still not so politically and ideologically minded, and this should not surprise us) that what Khrushchov did was in line and in accordance

with the Leninist rules». They were deceived by the calumnies, by the demagogy and the promises of the traitors, but this will, certainly, not last for long. The eyes of the Soviet working class and revolutionaries are being opened and will be better opened and they will again recover the fighting spirit of the revolutionary struggles through which they had been led by Lenin and Stalin. They must come out, arms in hand, in the street, and they will come out, if not today, tomorrow. The situation will ripen. Time works for the proletarian revolution.

This process has occurred also in the other revisionist parties, but still more deeply, for the reason that the parties of the revisionist countries, with the exception of the Polish Party, are parties which have not themselves waged the struggle, have not passed through that furnace, irrespective of their self-advertisement as allegedly old parties which have been through the fight. Their luggage on this issue — and this is the main issue — is very insignificant, not to say, nil.

Moreover, these parties were revived, reorganized, and they seized power thanks to the Soviet army and to the direct aid of the Bolshevik party and of Stalin. This was a vital aid to them, not only to recover materially, but also to create political and ideological cohesion in their fold. But later, in these parties, that is in the Polish, German, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and other parties, an organisational, political, and ideological union was brought about between the communist, socialist and social-democratic parties. Thus, the social-democratic germ instead of remaining outside, wormed itself inside the party. The wine was diluted with water. Why should we be surprised that now it has turned into vinegar? While Stalin was alive, the social-democratic parties of Cyrankiewicz, Otto Grotewohl, Fierlinger, were silent, but they kept working inside, corroding, demoralizing, and seizing important positions to the best of their ability.

When Khrushchov came to power, these elements were overjoyed. Later came the separation, and it was a radical one since degeneration had taken deep roots in these parties and in these countries. While Marxist-Leninist Gottwald turned out the armed workers in the streets and made reaction shiver and retreat into their hide-outs, the revisionist Dubcek has now a part of the Czechoslovak working class on his side. This is happening also in Hungary, but not entirely so in Poland, for the Polish working class have more revo-

lutionary traditions to their credit. But the struggle to win over the working class and to arouse them to revolt should be the main objective of every Marxist-Leninist party. *There is not and there cannot be proletarian revolution without the working class and without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.*

The students and intellectuals must rise up in revolution but be led by the working class and by the Marxist-Leninist party. If the contrary happens, as in the revisionist countries, if they are not placed where they belong in revolution and if they are not properly educated to take the revolutionary road they become reserves of counter-revolution. Youth can never undertake and carry out the tasks and the role that history has entrusted to the working class. Everywhere, in everything, the working class and the party of the class must be in the van, in absolute leadership. The peasantry and the various social strata must advance on the road of the working class in alliance with them. They must be brought up with its laws and its ideology, and whoever does not advance on this road and places obstacles under the wheels must be discredited, by persuasion or by violence, as may be necessary.

In the light of all that we have said, we see more clearly the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist road and line pursued by our party at all the stages of its development, even at the most critical moments, and its boundless loyalty towards the ideas and the revolutionary cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. But our party has never lost sight of the fact that no communist party, our own included, is immune from the danger of revisionism. It has always maintained a sharp vigilance against this danger, it has never rested on its laurels. Our Party has amassed and is elaborating every day a rich experience of how to bar the road to revisionism and to the restoration of capitalism. The measures adopted by the party for the further revolutionization of the whole national life, for the perfecting and the development of socialist relations in production and of the superstructure, for purging them of everything alien, are of a decisive and vital importance to the cause of socialism.

It has waged and is waging the class struggle inside and outside the party on a correct Marxist-Leninist basis. This struggle being the motive force during the whole period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, it has attached

first-rate importance to the revolutionary class education of the working people, and especially of the growing generation, in different forms, especially through revolutionary action. It has waged and is waging a principled and consistent struggle against all and every bureaucratic distortion, for the constant deepening of the mass line in all fields, for the uninterrupted improvement of socialist democracy. Above all, special attention has been devoted to the constant revolutionization of the party and its cadres, so that the latter may never detach themselves from the people, may not lose their revolutionary features and spirit, may not become bureaucratic and may not degenerate.

The party has never lost sight of the dialectical action of the different factors, with all their positive and negative influences. It has carried out and continues to carry out in depth all-round measures of revolutionization, of education, of work and struggle on all the fronts giving rise to a number of problems, great and small, but all of them important and closely interwoven, especially on the front of the class ideological education and of the class struggle. Thus, it has continued and continues the struggle frontally, without interruption, always mounting, always learning from the successes and shortcomings, so that the shortcomings may not be repeated and the successes may not intoxicate and lull it to sleep. Our party and people are advancing on this correct Marxist-Leninist road with firm confidence in the upbuilding of socialism and communism.

Under the present-day conditions, when the revisionist cliques are completely liquidating all the victories of socialism in their respective countries, the working class of these countries must clearly understand that the revisionist party in power is no longer a party of the proletariat, but a weapon in the hands of treacherous leaders intending to restore capitalism, to deceive the masses. Today there is no longer room for illusions, hesitations and procrastination. The working class of the revisionist countries is now faced with the historic necessity of taking its place again on the battlefield, of launching a ruthless and thoroughly consistent struggle to overthrow and smash the treacherous cliques, to carry out once more the proletarian revolution, to restore the dictatorship of the proletariat. This requires absolute determination, courage, sacrifices and a renewal of the revolutionary spirit and traditions of the times of Lenin and Stalin. This

requires, in the first place and above all, the organisation of the genuine revolutionaries into new Marxist-Leninist parties, which should mobilize, organize and lead to victory the general uprising of the proletariat and of the other laboring masses.

At these important moments for the destinies of revolution, none of the Marxist-Leninists and the world proletariat can remain silent and idle in the face of what is happening in the revisionist countries. Proletarian internationalism demands of all the revolutionaries to raise their voices and wage a principled struggle through to the end for the destruction of the revisionist cliques in power and to give all support to the working class and to the peoples that are today under the revisionist rule, to overthrow these treacherous cliques and to raise again the banner of revolution and socialism.

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An article by Comrade Nexhmie Hoxha, Member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and Directress of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania commemorating the 25th anniversary of the First National Conference of the Communist Party (now Party of Labor) of Albania, reproduced from the «Zëri i Popullit» daily, dt. March 17, 1968

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<i>Page</i>	<i>line</i>	<i>read</i>	<i>instead of</i>
82	13	cooperatives in order to enhance its role and selfinitiative	cooperatives we have gained a rich experi- ence in organisa-

